YS/LJS DISCUSSION & INTERNAL BULLETINS *(selection) 1971-1973*

(*all French texts -- 'Preuve finale' en Anglais -à vérifier)*
(texts on file)*

YDB: Youth Discussion Bulletin (internal, members only)
NEC: National Executive Council, YS-LJS

1971-00-1 YS/LJS DB Vol. 7 No. 9 submitted by Zane Boyd

1971-09Sept-1p1- Report on Suspension and Censure of Members

1971-Dec-1 YS/LJS Executive Council Plenum

1971-Dec-1	Political Report (includes Cover & Index)
1971-Dec-2	Antiwar Report
1971-Dec-3	Women's Liberation Report
1971-Dec-4	Quebec Report
1971-Dec-5	Organizational Report

1972-08AugAa YS/LJS Vol. 8 No. 1: Nature & Challenge of Youth Radicalization

1972-08AugAb Foreword "...series of 5 draft EC resolutions to convention..."

1972-08Aug-C-0 YS/LJS DB Vol.8 No.2: Organizational Resolution

**1972-August* *Vol.8 No.3: Documents of the R.C.T. (15pp) (on file)*

1972-08AugD YS/LJS DB Vol.8 No.4: The power of Anti-war movement

1972-08AugE-1 YS/LJS Vol.8 No.5: Comments on the RCT

1972-08AugE-1 Comments on RCT--Student Movement (J.U.)

1972-08AugE-2 Towards gay liberation --R. Notte & I. Mackenzie

**(32C) 1972* *YS/LJS DB Vol. 9 No. 6: Appeal to the EC and Reply to Report on behalf of Halifax Local (by the RCT) (on file)*

1972-09SeptA YS/LJS DB Vol.8 No.7: Political Report (CEC to Plenum)

**1972-August* *Vol.8 No.8: Counter Political Report of R.T.C. (6pp - ON FILE)*

1972-09SeptB-0 YS/LJS DB Vol. 8 No. 9: International Report

**1972-09SeptB* *pp.22-41: CEC STATEMENT concerning the LC boycott & LSA Statement on the Argentine kidnapping (on file)*

1972-12DecA-0 YS/LJS DB Vol.8 No.10: Women's Liberation Resolution

1972-12DecBa YS/LJS DB Vol.8 No.11(a): "The Crisis of World

1972-I2DecC YS/LJS Vol.8 No.11(b): Amendments to Antiwar & Youth docs

**1972-Dec.* *Vol.8 No.12: The Revolutionary Communist Position on Quebec (file)*

**1972-Dec.* *Vol.8 No.13: The Revolutionary Communist Position on Students (file)*

**1972-Dec.* *Vol.8 No.14: Publications, illegal drugs (Critiques of CEC docs) (file)*

**1972-Dec-1* *Vol.8 No.18: The RC position on the Nationalism debate (M. S. (file)*

**1972-Dec-2* *Vol.8 No.18: Appendix: Nationalism & Canada by R.T. (file)*

**1972-Dec.* *Vol.8 No.18: The RC(T) position on the nationalism debate (file)*

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YS-LJS DISCUSSION BULLETIN

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THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEW RADICALIZATION IS A CHALLENGE TO OUR LEADERSHIP -- by Zane Boyd

Over the past two years, the YS/LJS has experienced an impressive growth, numerically and geographically. This growth has been especially dramatic in recent months. This development hasn't been accidental: it's a direct result of the growing alienation and radicalization of Canadian youth. However, we have to ask ourselves: Has this growth been as rapid as it could have been and can be? And how well have we been able to educate and consolidate our new recruits? To the first question, the answer has to be an honest "no"; to the second: "rather poorly".

Frankly, we have been plagued by a profound conservativism and an inclination to routinism. We have been unimaginative and lacking in initiative, out of touch with the vast majority of radicalizing youth, and even with the overall needs of our own movement. Our press is only the most striking reflection of our weakness. While improvements have recently been made in the size and technical layout of the paper, it's content and style are still much too heavy to the youth we are trying to attract. It's circulation has increased almost in spite of the effort we've put into it. Other major areas of our work have also suffered. Our contact work has been plagued by routinism and insufficient effort. Our tours and our forums have been inconsistently built. The dazzling special social events, which as we've seen can be so successful in drawing out new people, have not been given high enough priority. We've organized far too few public actions under our own name. Worst of all has been the unsystematic, hit-and-miss approach to our own education.

There are, in my opinion, two basic reasons for our shortcomings. First, we still suffer from a hangover from past years, when our orientation was to the "politicals" in and around the New Democratic Youth, when we weren't as yet confronted by the tremendous radicalization among youth we witness today. This is what has caused our stodginess and our routinist tendencies.

But there is a second, more important, cause. I don't feel we've had a properly balanced appreciation of our movement's priorities in light of this new youth radicalization and in light of our overall task as the YS/LJS. In other words, I don't feel that we've known precisely what we should be doing.

We ought to ask ourselves what the YS/LJS is all about in the first place.

Our goal can be simply stated: the liberation of humanity through the world socialist revolution. Our purpose, our whole reason for our existence, is tied to that goal. It is very clearly stated in our constitution under Article 2 entitled "Purpose": "...to educate youth to the program of revolutionary Marxism and enlist the youth of our society in the struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading to the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of the basis for socialism -- a workers' state". Essentially, then, propoganda is what we're about; we're a movement of ideas. And during this present period of youth radicalization, we have the greatest opportunity ever to fulfil this purpose -- winning our generation to Trotskyism, and the building of the vanguard party of the revolution.

We do have a secondary but related task, however. Together with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, as part of a

common Trotskyist movement in Canada, we are an organization of action. The YS/LJS then, is at one and the same time an organization of propoganda of ideas and of agitation for action. Although the former should constitute the major emphasis in our work, each of these two aspects compliments the other. As youth, our area of action is the student arena. We intervene in the political struggles of our generation, helping to build them and lead them. The LSA/LSO actively aids us in this aspect of our work. You might say that we have a dual character and a dual role.

From the tasks before the YS/LJS as a whole flow the tasks of its leadership.

First, there's the task of coordinating and leading the membership in our day-to-day involvement in our external areas of intervention. This is leadership in the action and secondary aspect of our movement's work. The leadership's main role, however, is to guide the propaganda aspect of our work, to provide the initiative and inspiration for drawing youth to our movement and recruiting them. Here, our paper has the key role to play, although is also concerns our forums and our other open public activity. Once these youth have been recruited, the prime task of the leadership is to educate them in the basic political theory and history of the socialist movement. The leadership must utilize and develop the talents and abilities of the new comrades, inspiring them with self-confidence and pride in their efforts. Finally, our leadership must draw new comrades into the leading bodies of the movement and assisn them to and assist them in positions of responsibility to broaden their experience, enhance their abilities and instill them with confidence. The overall goal is to develop new leaders -- more leading Trotskyists. We want every comrade who joins the YS/LJS to be eager to eventually be prepared to join the LSA/LSO. As the "Purpose" stated, we're out to build the vanguard party, the embryo of which os the LSA/LSO. We're not simply building student leadership in the YS/LJS, but leadership of the entire working population of Canada. From among today's YSers will emerge some of the leaders of tomorrow's Canadian Revolution.

"I've outlined the primary objectives of the YS/LJS as a whole, and flowing from that, the primary tasks before its leadership as I see them. The priorities are clear. We, however, have allowed our priorities to become mixed around. We have become bogged down in the routine, day-to-day external areas of our work to the detriment of our prime task: recruitment through effective propaganda, and the building of new leadership through efficient education.

There are objective as well as simply subjective reasons for this situation. The new wave of youth radicalization has not only broadened our possibilities for recruitment, but has lent fire to the mass movements such as women's liberation, the antiwar movement, the Quebecois struggle. Opposing radical tendencies have also arisen or have resurrected themselves. These developments have forced us to devote forces to intervene in giving leadership to these movements. But by the same token, the basic socialist propaganda aspect of our work has suffered. It can thrive only on our own initiative. No one is twisting our arms. This initiative is precisely what leadership is all about.

We ought not allow ourselves to succumb to these external pressures to the point where we are swamped or hamstrung by them. To do so, we should firmly establish our priorities. Ours is a movement of ideas, of education. It is up to our leadership to take the initiative here;

to devote the time, energy and forces to strengthen and expand our basic propaganda work, and to systematize the education of all our comrades. This, I believe, is our main task over the coming months.

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SELECTING OUR LEADERSHIP BODIES -- by Zane Boyd

There are no magic formulas for selecting effective leadership bodies, but there are a few useful considerations and guidelines to help us in doing so.

As far as the leading body itself is concerned, be it on a cross-country or a local basis, the main thing to keep in mind is that we're not selecting a random collection of individual "leaders" but putting together a team. None of us are superhuman know-it-alls and do-it-alls. We set up an effective division of labor, and for that, you've got to have people who are able to work together. Essentially any leadership team has to be a balance of strengths and weaknesses among individual comrades. That's the beauty of it: one comrade has weaknesses of one sort or another that the other comrades are able to overcome; on the other hand the particular abilities or strengths of each comrade are best appreciated in this kind of situation.

Even more important than the team aspect of leadership in our movement is the fact that our leading bodies are open bodies-- open to drawing in newer comrades. The main task of the YS/LJS is to develop leaders. This means we've got to have a continual turnover or renewal of our leadership bodies. It's generally healthy for comrades not to remain fixed in any one position of responsibility for too long. Giving an already more experienced comrade varied responsibilities or perhaps even no major responsibility at all for a time not only allows for the development of newer comrades, but permits that comrade to gain even more experience, and to share what he or she has already learned with others.

Without this 'team' and 'open' approach, leadership bodies and individual members are highly prone to certain organizational "diseases". One particular and not an uncommon ailment is that of having a leading body (say, a local executive or individuals on it) do all the work of the entire local. Some might call this "bureaucracy", but that would be an ill-considered and superficial term to use, seeing as bureaucracy is based essentially on material and social privilege; it is not simply an organizational quirk. A more accurate term would be "substitutism". It's not a conscious thing either -- which is all the more reason for comrades to closely guard against it.

If we keep in mind the overall character of the leadership bodies we want, then it's quite simple to establish the criteria for selecting individual comrades to these bodies. The only requirement in my opinion is that the comrade has shown that he or she is serious about wanting to build the YS/LJS, and can most likely take on the responsibility involved. I say "most likely" because comrades often don't find out they can carry out responsibility until they are

given it.

Alien to our way of selecting comrades for leading bodies and positions is any notion of "seniority". Leadership bodies are not grazing pastures for sacred cows who happen to have been born or to have come into the Trotskyist movement earlier than other comrades. Another damaging concept is the idea that comrades have had to "prove" themselves in some special way or another. Again, comrades "prove" themselves when they join the movement.

Comrades who take on leadership responsibility above all ought to have a comradely approach in working with others. They should recognize and respect the views of all comrades. There are no unimportant comrades; everyone has something to contribute. Leading comrades must be able to patiently seek out, use and develop other comrades' abilities and talents. One cannot stress this point too much. Leadership ability can develop only through confidence and pride in one's own efforts. Capitalism destroys or stunts the development of these essential human needs in young people, and particularly in women. It's essential for us, therefore, to carefully cultivate confidence in all comrades, through education and through day-to-day work with them in the movement.

Those who have read Cannon's "How to Select a Leadership", will recall how he outlines the way in which we select our cross-country leadership bodies at convention time. Delegates from the various locals should keep in mind the kind of leadership and the kind of leaders the YS/LJS needs. Delegates are best familiar with the comrades in their own local areas, and should feel obligated to present to the nominating commission the names of those comrades who they feel should be considered for the Executive Council. Another thing: the delegates chosen by their local delegations to be on the nominating commission have a most important role to play -- namely, selecting the kind of leadership I've been talking about. All delegates should, therefore give careful consideration as to whom they select to be on the commission.

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ON CONTACT WORK AND RECRUITMENT ----------Zoe Boyd

The YS/LJS has tried some regional organizing recently -- with tremendous results. There's little cause for amazement, however: the breakthroughs in the Maritimes, in Southern Ontario, on the Prairies, and in Victoria, B.C. are only a small indication of the unlimited possibilities open to us. In fact, the as yet more removed cities and towns across the country can be the most fruitful area in the coming period for spreading our ideas and establishing ourselves. Students in these places are wide open to socialism. Often they're much more militant than students in the larger cities. They're not imbued with the pessimism and apathy brought on by political defeats and the generally more alienating atmosphere of the larger schools and universities in these cities. Most students in the outlying areas have as yet been untouched by the intervention of radical movements. We must be the first to reach them.

While we've made progress in the outlying regions, we can't say the same about our contact work locally. We've got to be bolder and more efficient here. Our watchword has to be: wherever there are radicalizing youth in the city, we've got to be there too. The initiative has to come from the local leadership: it has to allot the time and assign the forces to keep on top of whatever youth are doing in the city. We've got to be at their events -- cultural, political, educational, whatever. So someone's going to have to miss an antiwar meeting or a women's liberation fraction... So what? We've got to know what other groups of young peple exist in our area and what thy're up to.

The first priority in doing contact work is circulating the press. It's mobile; we can take it everywhere. It's the easiest way of reaching new people with our ideas. And we don't sell singles right off the bat; we start out by hitting everyone for a sub. Our press is the voice for radicalizing youth across the country. We can't simply circulate the press, either. We've got to think of all sorts of gimmicks and approaches that will ensure us that not one radicalized youth goes without the Young Socialist or Jeune Garde. We've got to get our papers to the public and especially the school libraries; Young Socialist and Jeune Garde should be in every book and magazine store.

Next to the press, forums are our best way of doing direct, personal contact work. If this is the case, then our forums have got to be geared and sensitized to the questions young people are thinking about. They've got to be held regularly. Presentations must be well-prepared, and varied in format as well as content.

Besides regular public forums, special social and cultural events offer us a unique way of attracting youth to us. Large open movement parties should be built around special occasions to give them a festive air. We must remember that while these movement events are also for comrades' enjoyment, we hold them primarily to draw around and integrate contacts. We should also arrange smaller selective house parties and dinners where contacts can get to know and talk to comrades on an intimate basis. Comrades have got to always keep an eye out to make sure contacts feel welcome and get to know everyone present.

Toronto and Vancouver have shown the tremendous viability of special well-prepared cultural presentations on radical themes. The only problem is that the're too few and far between. There's a tendency for comrades to somehow view these events as of minor importance,

perhaps even a waste of precious time. This kind of attitude is dead wrong and shows that we haven't got our priorities straight. Cultural events of thissort can often draw out twice as many people as some forums. They also attract youth who normally might not come to forums. Usually these events are based on prepared scripts which can be mimeographed and sent across the country for use or adaptation by other locals. Finally, these special events have the possibility of drawing on and developing abilities of new comrades, who might not at first be inclined to give a forum but might volunteer to participate in a dramatic presentation or lead a sing-song.

Aside from the press, forums, parties and cultural events -- more or less planned and regular functions of contact work -- there are still numerous other ways of reaching young people with our ideas. This is where leadership initiative really comes in. We should be ready to organize actions of our own whenever the chance comes along. When MPs or foreign diplomats come to town, we should be out there picketting, getting press coverage. When the bourgois news media prints some lying article or broadcasts some scandalous crap, we should be picketting their offices the following day. We should be writing letters to the bourgois press our own name; if we pressure them enough, they'll print them. Wherever we can, we should hold public speak-outs -- at high schools, in downtown shopping areas, at large public events. We should be sending YS/LJS speakers into the high schools, holding debates.

When it comes actually to recruiting, we should be wide open: if someone wants to join, to help us out, we should bring that person right in.

Our local meetings have to undergo a change too. Technically, they are the final week to week decision-making bodies of the local. Actually, they could more acurately be described as business meetings which oversee the work of the executive and the fractions whose task it is to carry on the day-to-day decisions and work of the local. Within this framework, local meetings must be much more of an educational affair. The executive and fraction bodies, which have already discussed the major questions facing the local as a whole, should come to the meetings with well worked out educational*reports that do not just ramble off a few informational statistics, but that explain and motivate to the members about what is up for adoption. One of the key responsibilities of the organizer is to check with the fraction coordinators to ensurethat the reports will be of this type. If we can develop this kind of local leadership, we should be able to invite contacts who are interested in us to come right down. A healthy local meeting would be the most educational experience of all for new contacts.

*political

Our paper is the most important thing we 've got. Its our major means of reaching people with our ideas and drawing them to our movement. Unfortunately , our press has not been adequately performing this task. it has not been appealing to the newly radicallizing youth who we've long decided to orient to.

Ask any young high school student whose turned off by the system: "Here, have a look at this! Tell me what you think of it!" Nine times out of ten, the student will calmly turn over the pages, skim over the first couple of paragraphs, or maybe even half of an article, he or she might at first be attracted to ; soon you'll get the paper back with the reply: " Well, it's not bad." The students quite friendly, mind you. Just, "It's not bad."

Now the student is right on: the paper is not bad. But is it good? Is it great? would the student take out a sub? " Well,why not?" You might ask again. nine times out of ten you get an answer like: "Well, it's too heavy. There isn't enough variety. I like that article on women's liberation in the highschools, mind you... But I wouldn't subscribe ... Anyway, I don't have the bread." (Which is just an excuse, anyway. Even if the student didn't have the money, he'd have scraped it up somehow if he really dug the paper.)

" It's too heavy. " "There isn't enough variety." ... the student is right. Our articles are this way. First, their content is by and large of the wrong type; second , the style of writing is all too often stuffy; finally, there are technical inadequacies, some excusable, others not.

The content by and large is wrong, because it isn't geared to the main task of the paper; to bring young people to our movement. Instead the articles are mainly of an academic or "analytical" character. How do young radicallizing youth come to our movement? On what basis do they join?Certainlyy not because they accept our analysis of the workers' states or of the character of the Canadian bourgoisie. They come to us and join basically and simply because they're turned off by the system; they see that we are too; and that we're out to do something about it. And they'd like to too. It's mainly a question of identifying with each other. That's what our press has to do -- identify with the youth rebellion and point the finger at those responsible. We need some good muckraking material; exposes of the thousands of evils of capitalist society. Instead, our articles are almost all editorial in character which draw people's conclusions for them. Let people draw their own conclusions. The task of the YS and Jeune Garde is not to expound the line of the Trotskyist movement in Canada; that is the job of Labor Challenge and La Lutte Ouvriere . Let's get the division of labor straight on this.

We have to start from where the radicallizing youth are at now-- not where we'd like them to be. This means we've got to know what is bugging young people in particular and take it from there. The YS/JS has to be on top of what's happening among our generation in all its' aspects. We've got to keep up with other magazines and papers, pick up issues and ideas and expand on them from our point of view.

We must strive to carry articles on all kinds of topics; we've got to remember that youth will be drawn around us for all sorts of different reasons. Our press has got to take this firmly into account

Our articles must take on the wide variety of form, as well as the straight exposes . , type material, we should carry interviews with controversial people in the political news. We ought to publish pro and con positions, debates with otherson topical questions. We should keep in touch with the capitalist press and use our press to retaliate. We need poetry contributions, book reviews and movie reviews consistently -- perhaps a regular review column. We already have an 'In Brief' type column . This is handy, and should be continued. Columns have a particular value: they lend continuity to the press, encouraging readers to get the next issue or a sub. Incidentally, our articles are much too long, mainly because they're mostly of the "in-depth analytical" type. News write ups, commentaries, reviews -- all should be as sort and to the point as possible. This would not only make for easier reading but also make room for a wider variety of material.

Writing talent is, of course, one of aour greatest problems. We need to be iconoclastic, satirical, entertaining, as well as serious; this kind of writing-style takes talent and experience. A key task before our leadership, therefore, is to seek out and develop whatever writing potential we have. Among the membership there are doubtless many comrades who have latent writing talent, [illegible] abilities must be unearthed and incorporated into putting out the press.

In recent issues, considerable progress has been made in the technical appearance of our paper. Unfortunately, we have no one professionally trained in layout, so we as yet are limited in what we can do in this respect. There are however, a couple of obvious improvements that should be made. To liven up the paper, we need many more bold and interesting graphics, cartoons, and pictures. Masses of grey type simply turn people off. The copy has to be broken up as much as possible throughout the paper. This is only one more arguement, by the way, for shorter articles. Again, we have the talent in and around the movement to take the photos, do the cartoons, draw the graphics; it's simply a question of seeking them out. There is one other way of breaking the monotony of solid print besides. If we do have to have a lengthy article, for some reason, let's at least break it up with sub-headings.

One final comment. We constantly talk about the need to <u>really</u> make ours a cross-country press, with contributions from all over. So far, the editorial board hasn't been able to accomplish this. I suggest that leading comrades be assigned in every local as regional press representatives. These comrades would keep in constant touch with the editorial board in the centre, to confer with them on possible contributions from their areas. These representatives should also take the initiative in sending in news of the developments in their area, that are pertinent to a socialist youth paper. In this, they could enlist and help develop the talents of other comrades in their area interested in writing for the paper.

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ON EDUCATION

-- by Zane Boyd

The education of its membership is the prime responsibility of the leadership of the YS/LJS. Our overall task is to build new leadership, and here education plays the main role. Of course, leadership is also developed in action; but even here, sustained activity can only come through consciousness of our overall purpose and conviction in our program and fundamental strategy.

Over the years, the Trotskyist movement in North America has developed the basic format of educational activities with which we in ths YS/LJS are familiar -- public meetings or forums, "internals", and classes. These forms have proved the most practical, each rulfilling a specific role. Forums offer us the opportunity to teach contacts and our comrades the basic aspects of our theory and strategy as applied to day-to-day events. "Internals" have been found convenient in getting the entire membership, while already assembled for a business meeting, to focus in on some specific aspect of our theory or work. Classes have the function of delving into the theory and history of our movement in greater depth.

This format, while very practical, does not in and of itself guarantee the adequate education of the membership. It only provides the framework. Over the past two to three years, the new rise of radicalising youth has thrust us into all sorts of external areas of work and responsibility. The unfortunate result has been that our emphasis on education has been sacrificed. It's time now that we realign our priorities and begin to devote the necessary time, forces and resources to ensure the healthy development of the membership. Above all, educational work must be consciously built and systematized.

A. Forums

Next to our press, forums are our most important way of reaching the public with our ideas. They have the added importance of being our main area of personal contact work, offering a platform for discussion as well as straight opinion. Like the press, however, forums are not meant exclusively for contacts; they also play a valuable role in educating our membership on the Trotskyist position on current world and local developments.

In the larger centres of our movement, we have not bothered to devote the necessary time and energy to building our forums. Attendance has fluctuated; even the attendance of comrades has been sporadic. On occasion, with rather minor effort, we have been able to draw dozens of young people down to our headquarters, many of them brand new to our movement and our ideas. With consistent energy, with conscious planning in advance, we could make these occasional phenomena a regular feature. We have the possibility of building our forums, and therefore our headquarters, into the weekly centres for discussion of radical politics and ideas.

Our forums should generally be what the name implies -- occasions wide-open to various opinions and discussion. Our objective should be to bring as many people to them as possible. This is best done

by having guest speakers, films, on occasion, dramatic presentations and panels representing different viewpoints. We shouldn't even have to worry about getting our line across; that can be done easily by either being represented up front or through effective contributions from the floor. There are occasions when we use the forum podium to state our movement's position on a particular important political development. This is normally done by a local comrade. We should have local comrades give forums sparingly, however, because this tends to limit our audience. Unfortunately, this generally has been the norm over the past simply because it requires the lieast effort.

In aiming for this wide-open character of our for s, a word of caution: when it comes to question and discussion period, doubts and criticisms from some skeptical soul or two are bound to come up. We've had this happen before. The tendency, unfortunately, is for a dozen comrades to rise in succession and ram the poor visitors into the floor. This is the surest way to turn a would-be contact into a hostile cynic. We must welcome the challenge of differing views and doubts at our forums.

Our discussion of forums so far has been intended mainly for our larger centres. Smaller locals face much greater problems and less opportunity in building regular forums. This is where help from the centre comes in. Building the smaller local's forum programs must be a key aspect of regional organizing. Forum tours should be organized regularly on a regional basis. These tours would provide added interest in the forums as well as an added impetus for our comrades to build them. They would also cut down on the overall effort expended, and would build our comrades as public spokespeople for the YS/LJS over a wide area. Our co-thinkers in the Northern U.S. have expressed an interest, by the way, in collaborating with us in these kind of forum tours.

If we want to get the most out of our forums, we've got to put the effort into them. Our educational committees and the League educational committees as they are now structured, are unable to manage building the effective forums we need. Our direction in the larger centres in the movement should be to establish separate forum committees, or at least forum sub-committees on the educational committees. The main point is that we set aside the time and devote whatever forces we can to building our forums consistently. Even in smaller locals, for instance, one person on the executive might be placed in charge.

The functions of the forum committees, or those in charge, would be to plan a popular program well in advance and to mobilize the local's fraction and membership into building the forums. Another responsibility would be publicity: printing up the forum leaflet well in advance, organizing the regular forum mailings, seeking out every way possible to get the forums known -- through the campus press, through free space in the bourgeois dailies, etc., etc. Where branches of the LSA/LSO exist, the committee would naturally be a joint one, with representation from both the youth and the League.

B. Internals

To fully appreciate the possibilities and limitations of internals, you only have to consider the time allotted -- 40 minutes is the norm. Now, in this amount of time, it's really impossible to deal with the history of the Russian Revolution, the nature of Stalinism or bureaucracy, Canadian history since 1759, etc. Yet valiant attempts along these lines have been made, with only one result: a bored local and a frustrated, demoralized speaker. Broader questions of theory and history must be left to classes, where more time is alloted.

More recently there has been a growing tendency for internals to move away from dealing with abstract theoretical topics and toward immediate, topical matters of concern to the local, such as problems that may arise in some area of our work, some political development of particular importance, or perhaps an extended report by a fraction or the executive.

This break away from so-called abstract theory in internals is a good development. But there's an inherent danger here: that the internal educationals become mere extensions of the local meetings dealing with matters that could and should normally be dealt with under the local reports. Local reports by the executive and fractions are not mere informational reports; they should be educational reports in themselves that equip the local membership as a whole with the consciousness to carry out the day-to-day work of the movement. With this in mind, internal educationals should not be any less "theoretical"; rather, they should pick up on some specific development or question or immediate interest and expand on it, thereby giving the local insight into some aspect of Trotskyist theory. Thus, the internal is at once both theoretical, yet not "abstract". This kind of educational is not the easiest to present. The educational committees must carefully guide the comrade concerned in planning out and presenting the assigned topic. Giving an internal educational can be one of the most fruitful experiences for a comrade; it can also be one of the most drastic.

Nor do the internals have to be confined to the lecture format. Comrades should look for various means of increasing the attention of comrades in the educational . Visual aids, film, tapes, the arrangement of seats....these are only a few of probably many possibilities.

C. Classes

Of the three forms of organized education in the YS/LJS, classes have the most to offer comrades. They allow the time and flexibility for comrades to examine and discuss questions in depth. They equip comrades with an overall understanding of the fundamental theory and program of Trotskyism which is most essential to development of leaders in the movement.

It's in the area of classes that we've been most lax. We simply can't allow a situation to develop where new comrades do not immediately begin gaining a thorough grasp of the politics of the movement they've

joined. We can't have comrades hanging around uneducated in our basic politics. Once again, you get nothing our of what you don't put in to: we've got to allot the time for the comrades in charge of the movement's education to effectively plan and build classes. Of all our educational activities, they require the greatest effort. To be effective they must be regular, systematic and carefully planned.

1) Introductory Classes:

Our first effort must be directed at holding an in-depth regular program of introductory classes for our new comrades. The purpose of these classes must be to immediately give our new recruits a basic understanding of the theory, organizational character and program of our movement. They must taken very seriously, and seen as a comrade's first responsibility on joining the YS/LJS. They should be of an exclusive character for new comrades alone, and would be repeated as often as necessary, depending on the rate of recruitment at any given time. Hopefully, if we are recruiting regularly, we would be repeating the series quite often. For the comrades struck off to lead these classes, this task would have to be viewed as a major priority for them.

As an effective introductory program, I suggest a month-long series of three or four classes based on certain required reading. Two classes would be devoted to studying the basic theory and strategy of the Trotskyist movement. We should allow maximum time for questions, debate and discussion here. As for the preliminary reading, Socialism On Trial might be best. It very effectively and at the same time popularly covers our attitude on the fundamental questions of our time. An introduction to Marxist economics might also be considered as part of the program. I think that George Weaver's Economics For Workers is still probably the clearest, most popularly written introduction on the subject around.

The third class, I suggest, would take up the organizational character of the YS/LJS. And I don't mean simply dealing with "democratic centralism". The democratic centralist character of our movement should be explained, of course, but the class should deal more with how and why the movement is structured the way it is: what local meetings are for; why we have chairing; what the role of the executive is; of the fractions; who we determine our political strategy; what conventions are for; etc., etc. New comrades, alienated by the authoritarian nature of the system, come into the movement with natural suspicions or organization and leadership and such. In this third class, they should be encouraged to question all the aspects of the movement's organizational character. As for the reading for this class, the YS/LJS itself doesn't have any pamphlet that's really adequate. We should have one printed along the lines of the Organizational Character of the YSA. In the meantime, the YSA's pamphlet should be used. It's excellent.

A fourth class would zero in on the transitional program. This class should not be abstract in character, examinig the theory behind the transitional program. That should be left for future education. Rather than being based on the Death Agony" pamphlet, new comrades should read our basic student program and have a wide-ranging discussion on all its areas and aspects.

This rough outline for introductory classes is only meant as a suggestion for consideration. We should all experiment with these kind of classes over the next period and share our experiences by sending in reports to the central office.

2) Further Education

The educational needs of our membership don't stop with these introductory classes. They are meant merely to acquaint new comrades with the scope of our movement's politics. Further classes must be held in order to focus in on specific aspects of our theory and history that may only have been touched upon in the introductory program.

In setting up these other classes, we should take our lead from the Vancouver local. Together with the Vancouver branch of the LSA/LSO, our comrades are planning series of classes on the fundamental aspects of our politics -- aspects that are topical in that they are essential to an understanding of our day-to-day work in this period. These classes will be held regularly, every second month, including a special summer series which are already a regular annual feature. A systematic education of the membership will thus be ensured.

Unlike the introductory program, these classes are not meant for an exclusive sector of comrades. In fact, the Vancouver comrades are opening their classes wide open to contacts and the public. And rightly so. We should realize that, as the radicalization deepens and our influence in the growing mass movements continues, our ideas are gaining a wider interest. Trotskyism is gaining popularity. Our classes in and of themselves therefore have the potential of drawing people, particularily university students, directly to us.

D. For An Education Centre

It's obvious that newer and smaller locals will not be able to arganize the kind of programs of classes I've suggested here on their own. Comrades in these areas must, nevertheless, be educated in our politics like everyone else. This is where the centre must play a key role.

As well as recruitment, education of already existing membership must be a major responsibility of regional organizing. As well as forum tours, we can organize class tours on a regional basis, building broad weekend educational seminars on campuses in our smaller centres. We should also try occasionsl big-scale regional educational conferences. These can be big movement-building activities.

We must immediately move to establishing a cross-country tape library. in this way, particularly good forums, internals and classes presented in our larger centres can be conserved and made available to new and smaller locals. Our American co-thinkers have elaborate library already, which we are welcome to draw upon. This for us is invaluable material.

Our central leadership, just like our local leading bodies, have to devote the time and assign the forces, if we are to meet our educational needs in every local. A cross-country education centre with an educational director must be set up immediately. As well as establishing a tape library, the education centre should prepare a file of written presentations of educationals and classes given by comrades, complete with bibliographies. A list of source material should be prepared and circulated to assist comrades in their research for classes, forums and internals on various subjects.

As well as assisting in the regular forms of movement education, the education centre must guide comrades' supplementary self-education. An introductory reading list should be prepared, not simply listing books and pamphlets, but with short motivations for each. A basic reading list should be prepared as well. This would list and, again, motivate the main works of Marxism that comrades should read. The list ought to suggest some sort of order for study for comrades to plan their own education.

These are only the more obvious tasks that an education centre and its director would have to do. No doubt there are countless other ways of increasing the efficiency of our education work throughout the country. Locals should send in reports on occasion to the centre, explaining their particular educational needs and problems, and their experiences.

E) A Few Miscellaneous Suggestions for Local Education

Every local should establish and build up its own library, equipped with books, pamphlets and periodicals. Local comrades as well as the centre can help out here.

At local meetings, literature tables ought to be set up each week, decked out with the entire Trotskyist press of the week and literature pertinent to upcoming internals, forums and classes. By reading this material, comrades can get the most out of the education planned, as well as gaining a wider acquaintance with our literature.

Finally, wherever we can, we ought to have experienced comrades give speaking classes. This is not a minor matter. Half the battle in educating our contacts as well as ourselves is effective speech. Speaking classes would help comrades acquire the basic skills and techniques to overcome minor problems which are, unfortunately, a major factor in whether we get our ideas across simply and comprehensively.

- 0 -

Sept. 1, 1971

Report on the Suspension and Censure of Members of the Halifax and Fredericton Locals of the YS/LJS

On September 1, 1971 the Central Executive Council of the YS/LJS decided to suspend from all rights of membership but not from any of the obligations of membership, the members of the Halifax and Fredericton locals and to establish a commission to conduct a full investigation. This emergency action was taken on the basis of certain information brought to the attention of the CEC on Sept. 1.

On October 6, the CEC laid charges against the members of the two locals who were involved in what it designated as disloyal acts.

On Oct. 17 the CEC unanimously agreed that the evidence for the charge of gross disloyalty was sustained by the investigation. It decided to lift the suspensions but it also decided, at its Oct. 22 meeting, to censure the comrades involved.

(to)

The nature of the suspensions

The suspensions of Sept. 1 were an emergency action taken by the CEC in order to protect the movement. The information brought to the attention of the CEC made it question that the members of these two locals had any sort of honest relationship with the center. It felt that decisions of the gravest implications to the work of the entire movement were being taken behind the back of the movement. It concluded that it didn't know where the members of the two locals were headed. Acting in the interests of the movement and in the name of the movement it temporarily suspended the members of the locals until the matter could be fully investigated.

In a letter to the organizer of the Fredericton local and one to the organizer of the Halifax local, the YS/LJS executive secretary elaborated on the terms of the suspensions in this way:

"This means that you will issue no statements in the name of the YS/LJS and that you will carry on the activities which are clearly within the framework of well-established positions of the movement.

"You will not be freed from the obligations of membership, as stated, and we will expect dues and pledges and other committments of membership to be fulfilled."

The plenum of the YS/LJS of Aug. 26/27 had clearly reaffirmed and further clarified these well-established positions of the YS/LJS. At this plenum our role in leading the abortion campaign was outlined. A campaign for defense of the French language in Quebec was mapped out. A subscription drive was launched. The importance of financial contributions to the center was stressed. Based on the adopted reports of this plenum the tasks for the fall school term were clear for all locals. When the organizers of both locals enquired what were the terms of the suspensions, these tasks were again pointed out to them, both by the executive secretary of the YS/LJS and that of the LSA/LSO in both phone conversations and letters. It was also made clear that the comrades could not take initiatives outside the clearly established positions and campaigns

of our movement. While suspended, the Halifax comrades asked if they could run for mayor of Halifax. They explained that they had no one who had the necessary qualifications -- age, resident, citizenship, etc. -- to run but suggest runninga write-in campaign. The central leadership replied no, because this would necessitate them taking initiatives and making innovationthat the leadership was not confident in their ability to do on behalf of the movement.

Who was suspended

The CEC moved to suspend the members of the two locals. At the same time the status of Ruth T., a Toronto comrade who was transferring to Halifax in September, was raised. It was decided that Ruth would function for the time being as a member at large in Halifax and that of course she was not suspended. The suspensions were based on information about certain actions taken by members of the local during the summer not on a geographic region. Therefore a comrade who was not a member of the local during the summer could not be suspended since she/he was not involved. This was explained to Ruth before she left for Halifax by both the executive secretary of the YS/LJS and of the LSA/LSO.

Later the question of the status of several members of the locals who were not present during the summer or who were on a leave of absence was raised. Ross Dowson, LSA/LSO executive secretary told Walter Davis of Halifax verbally by phone on behalf of the PC and the CEC that members not present could not fall under the suspensions. Later Colleen Levis clarified this matter for the Fredericton comrades also.

The commission

The CEC struck off a commission of Colleen Levis and Wendy Stevenson, two long-standing members of the YS/LJS, to investigate the information, find out if it was correct, find out if there was any other information, statements from comrades, what they had to say about it, etc. The CEC and the commission contacted the comrades of the two locals and requested they aid the investigation by saying anything they knew about the information (listed below under "charges"). The organizers of both locals replied with many questions as to the legality of the suspensions, what they could do and not do in external work, who presented the information, what the jurisdiction of the commission was, and with many protests that their rights were being infringed upon -- but with no comment on the information itself. After a month of receiving no cooperation from the Halifax and Fredericton comrades, Colleeen Levis wrote a letter to them asking that they at least reply as to whether the information stated in the Sept. 1 CEC minutes was correct or false. The organizer of the Halifax local, in a letter dated Oct. 6, said that they hadn't answered with a "simple yes or no" as requested by Levis after a month of no response to this matter because, "as dialectical thinkers, we are fully aware that very few questions (if any at all) can be answered with a 'simple' yes or no."

On October 6, the commission of inquiry, unable to get any cooperation from the Halifax and Fredericton comrades in their investigation, and thus unable to investigate effectively, turned the matter back to the CEC. The CEC

at its Oct. 6 meeting laiid charges and proceeded under article 10 of the YS/LJS constitution.

The charges

The CEC laid the charge of gross disloyalty against the members of the local who had participated in acts that it designated disloyal. It struck off Colleen Levis to go to Halifax and Fredericton to present the charge on behalf of the CEC and to hold hearings as part of the trial. It also asked Ross Dowson to participate with Levis in the hearings in an advisory capacity. Levis and Dowson went to Halifax and Fredericton Oct. 9 to 11.

The charge they presented was based on information presented by Gord Stone, a member at large in Newfoundland who spent the summer as a member of the Fredericton local. He told the executive secretary of the LSA/LSO on Aug. 31, 1971:

(1) "YS/LJS executive secretary Joe Young came to the YS/LJS Atlantic provinces conference of June 26. Unknown to him the conference held at b--ls extended over to the next day. Not only was he not invited but it was arranged so that he did not know of it. In common agreement with other participants he was diverted out of the way purposefully by Terry Hamilton-Smith. I protested this action against the executive secretary of the organization but it was defended by the comrades:

(2) "On Saturday, July 31, the Halifax comrades of the YS including Walter D. and Will O., came to Fredericton to participate in what was commonly called "our" mini-conference, the conduct of which everyone knew was unknown to the central leadership of the movement.

(3) "During the month of July the YS Fredericton local commenced to write up two sets of minutes -- one to be sent to the central leadership to appear as the official and accurate record of the meetings; the other to correctly record the work and decisions of the local to be retained by the Fredericton local for its own purposes. Terry H-S. participated in this ruse."

Other information came to the attention of the CEC which tends to further sustain the charge:

(a) The Halifax and Fredericton locals, which had previously been regular in meeting their financial commitments to the movement, mounted up large debts to the movement in May, June, July, and August. These debts were owed to the YS/LJS central office, the YS newspaper, the Labor Challenge, Crescent publications, and the Waterloo conference. Because they were owed to so many departments they were not immediately noticed as being extremely abnormal, but by September their total ran well over $1000.

Perhaps the most alarming of these debts was the one to the Waterloo Conference. This conference required a fee of $25 from each participant to cover the costs. No profit for the movement was made from the con-

ference and this was made clear to all comrades. But when the financial statement of the conference was drawn up immediately following it, it was discovered that the Fredericton comrades owed $300 in fees for 12 persons and the Halifax comrades owed $150 for 6 persons. In the case of the Fredericton comrades, we were told by the registrar that the comrades had said the treasurer would pay for them when he arrived. Later it was discovered that the treasurer had already noted on his card that he would pay later. When this debt was pointed out to the comrades along with the fact that the rest of the movement was being made to subsidize their stay at Waterloo, they still made no moves to pay part or all of the registration fees or give an explanation of why they couldn't.

(b) The YS/LJS shares an orientation the the NDP with the LSA/LSO which has worked out this position in conventions, plenums, and in articles in its press. The YS works in collaboration with the League in this area and follows its leadership.

The comrades, especially those in Fredericton were involved in NDP work about which the LSA/LSO executive secretary expressed concern, in a letter to Terry HS. on July 11 (with a carbon to Walter D. of Halifax). Walter D. sent a short reply in response to which Dowson sent another urgent letter, this time with a carbon to Terry H-S. Despite the urgency and the importance of the character of their work which Dowson suggested could jeopardize our pan-Canadian work in the NDP, Terry H-S. failed to respond to either letter.

Late Sept. 28, Dowson received a phone call from Terry H-S. about recent developments in the NDP. A few days later Dowson received a copy of a report from Fredericton entitled "NDP report passed by the YS executive Sept. 28 to be introduced to the YS local Oct. 2", that ended with the following words: "we phoned Ross Dowson Tuesday night and he approved our tactical perspectives and verbally authorized us to intervene with these tactics." Dowson reported that he immediately, in collaboration with the YS/LJS central leadership, sent a letter to the Fredericton YS stating that he in no way approved any tactical perspectives advanced by Terry H-S.

The general line of the YS executive report was a continuation of the line that Dowson had protested in the two earlier letters as endangering our entire pan-Canadian work in the NDP. The report begins: "For about nine months we have directed our NDP work towards building the Waffle in preparation for a decisive conflict with the right wing. This decisive conflict is underway. It began at the convention Sept. 28 and will end when the convention reconvenes Oct. 16." This is obviously a clear violation of our entire orientation to the NDP as outlined in League convention and plenum documents. The report noted that a leading YS/LJS member took part in writing the Waffle manifesto, another wrote the women's rights resolution, and Terry H-S. wrote the labor resolution.

The strategy of decisive conflict which "will end when the NDP convention convenes on Oct. 16" resulted in the Sept. 25 convention adopting by a marginal vote a whole series of infantile ultra-left resolutions and in a

walkout of the trade union leadership. The movement was forced to publically disassociate itself from this line developed by the Fredericton YSers and applied unilaterally by them. This disassociation appeared in the Oct. 11 Labor Challenge entitled Walkout Breaks Up N.B. NDP Convention.

The trial

On. Oct. 9, Levis and Dowson went to Halifax. On Oct. 11 they went to Fredericton. In both places they requested that the members of the locals come to hear the charge and participate in hearings that were to be the first stage of the trial. In bot cases Levis explained that since it was not possible for the whole CEC to come to Halifax and Fredericton, nor for all the comrades to go to Toronto, that these hearings were an integral part of the trial. This was agreed to by everyone present and in the process of the hearings both the Halifax and Fredericton comrades spoke extensively and presented several statements for the record. The entire hearings were taperecorded and subsequently made available to CEC members.

At the Fredericton hearings the following comrades of the local were present: Dennis F., Kathy M., Diane S., Don K., Buff S., Ron G., Greg C., Terry H-S., Don V., Bob E., Carole W., and Ursula T. Ursula T. was recruited in August and not part of the trial as such. The Halifax comrades who attended the Halifax hearings were: Keith A., Will O., Walter D., Barb T., Michael T., and Ruth T. Ruth T. was present as an observer since she was not in Halifax in the summer.

Levis asked if everyone in the Halifax local was there and was told that they were. But later, in the course of the hearings, she heard names of comrades who were not present. When she asked about them she was told that they had dropped out of the movement. But this appeared to her to have happened over a period of time and to involve only a couple of comrades so she thought it a usual turnover for a local.

But after leaving the hearings, just before leaving the city, Levis and Dowson discovered that a letter handed to Levis, a carbon of one in a sealed envelope handed to Dowson for the YS/LJS executive secretary, reported that five members of the eleven member local had walked out the week before the hearings.

The letter read: "At our last local meeting, we were notified by five comrades (John Bell, Jane Musset, Don Cantley, Gloria Dunbar, Rick Swinimar) that they have decided to resign from the YS/LJS. Most of the comrades stated that the main reason they have for leaving is the centralist nature of the organization, and some of them are definitely developing into anarchist positions. They have not presented any formal statements to us yet, and as soon as they do so we will issue a polemic against them. We will send copies of both documents to you as soon as they are available."

No mention of this walkout on the part of half of the Halifax local was made at the hearings by the Halifax comrades.

Results of the Hearings

Both the Fredericton and the Halifax comrades admitted that the meetings mentioned in points 1 & 2 of the evidence presented by Gord Stone had taken place.

(1) On the June 27 meeting in Halifax, the comrades of both locals agreed there was a m eting that most of the comrades who attended the regional meeting the day before also attended. Leon P., Kim C., & Jean Paul P., members and sympathizers of the Montreal tendency also attended the 27th meeting. They agreed to the statement of Stone that Joe Young, then executive secretary of the YS/LJS, was present in Halifax at the time but not informed of t he meeting, and that instead he spent the day with Terry Hamilton-Smith. But they denied that it was "arranged" for the executive secretary of the YS/LJS to not know of the meeting. And they said the meeting was "informal" and that no one was actually invited to the meeting but all just happened to show up on the 27th and discuss the differences informally that they felt they had with the executive secretary's report of the previous day - including women s liberation, the abortion campaign, and our Quebec work.

The central leadership was never informed of this meeting.

On point (2 of the evidence, the comrades of both locals admitted a gathering of comrades took place in Fre ericton on July 31 and that the central leadership was not informed of this meeting either. kTerry H-S aid that this gathering was referred to as their "mini-conference". The Halifax comrades could not remember any of the Fredericton comrades who were present at this meeting nor h w they were informed of the meeting or how they were transported to Fredericton from Halifax, but with difficulty they recalled that 8 Halifax comrades were present there: Keith, Walter, Barbara, Mike, Will, ohn B., Jane M., Don. The Fredericton comrades couldn't remember how those f om Halifax happened to show up in Fredericton on July 31 but they agreed that a gathering including members from the two locals and Leon P. and Kim C. f om Montreal did take place on that day. Comraed B -- said that this was the gathering where the idea for the YS/LJS plenum counter reports came up.

On the 3rd point made by Stone, regarding t he minutes, it was revealed that no minutes at all were sent into the centre etween the months of April and September. Before leaving for the hearings Dowson had a discussion with Richard K., a former Fredericton YSer now resident in Toronto, in wh ich Richard K. affirmed what Stone said as being correct but for different reasons. In this discussion Richard K. said that there had been a decision to keep two sets of minutes, but that this was done because of constant

complaints by the youth central leadership that the minutes sent in were too long and too detailed and that comrades wanted to keep another tailed record for their own use to follow the development of various comrades and the evolution of the local. It would appear that the idea of keeping two sets of records had been discussed by the Fredericton comrades but never actually carried out.

All the evidence indicates that there had been a break in the locals' relationship with the center and that the locals were functioning outside the knowledge of the leadership of the movement and in an atmosphere of conspiracy against the leadership. Because they had created an air of secrecy and distrust around their work they made it very difficult for those comrades assigned the responsibility of giving overall direction to the work of the pan-Canadian movement to know what was happening, how serious the situation was, and how to come to grips with it.

When they presented some counter reports on women's liberation and student work at the August 26-27 plenum of the YS/LJS, the plenum asked them several questions: ECers asked if it was true that the reports had been adopted by both locals since they were signed by them and did this mean that the locals had been lined up before the leadership had had any chance to discuss these questions for the first time? The comrades replied that the locals hadn't been lined up and the signatures were a mistake. A comrade asked them if they were in fact a tendency since they were questioning many points of the YS strategy. But the Maritimes comrades denied that they were, saying they were still working out what their thoughts were. Following the plenum and preceeding it, nothing else was received from the comrades of their differences or their desire to organize themselves as a tendency.

And yet it is clear now that for several months the comrades of these two locals functioned as an undeclared tendency, outside the framework of the movement.

Even as late as October 9-11 when Levis and Dowson were in Halifax and Fredericton, the comrades gave no hint that almost a month earlier four of the comrades - Carole W. and Terry H-S from Fredericton and Walter D. and Will O. from Halifax - had, on September 16 signed an appeal to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International along with a group of Montreal tendency supporters. This appeal was directed not to the Canadian section of the Fourth International, the LSA/LSO, but the United Secretariat and was sent to them without the knowledge of the Canadian section's leadership which did not receive a copy of it until the United Secretariat itself sent a copy to Canada. In this appeal the four comrades declared themselves "as comrades who have recently developed differences with the present line of the section" not only on "work in the student milieu and work in the women's liberation movement", but "with the present line of the section on Latin America and the statutes of the International" and as comrades who "are presently discussing the possibility of forming a united tendency on the basis of our positions on the above mentioned questions" with the Montreal tendency.

Summary

Faced with this situation the CEC first suspended the comrades then attempted to carry out an investigation, the process of which the suspended comrades hindered, then laid charges, and conducted a trial. Only then did the scope of the disloyal functioning of the members of the local become clear as the original information was confirmed and more information brought to light. On October 22 the CEC moved to lift the suspensions and to censure the formerly suspended comrades for their actions. At the same time the CEC discussed assigning leading comrades to help rebuild the Atlantic locals. A week later it re-recruited two leading league comrades to the youth, Art Young and Penny Simpson, and assigned them to Halifax.

Underpinning the acts of disloyalty of the Halifax and Fredericton comrades was their formation of a hidden or undeclared tendency behind the back of the movement and hostile to its democratically elected leadership and the positions adopted by the movement at conventions and plenums.

While our movement seeks to be a homogeneous force, we consider it is inevitable that differences will develop within our ranks. It is only natural that comrades who feel they have a common evaluation of certain problems and questions before the movement should meet together to exchange experiences and ideas and even take decisions that they think will enable them to more effectively bring their views to the attention of the whole movement. At times some may think it necessary to form a tendency to attempt to change the policy of the movement and even to bring the leadership into harmony with the policies. They prepare documents arguing their positions and participate in convention and plenum discussions to attempt to do this.

But long organizational experience of our movement, which includes not only that of the eleven years of the YS but the long struggle to build the Bolshevik vanguard begun by Lenin in Russia seventy years ago, demonstrates to us that it is essential that differences within the movement should not be exaggerated. It also essential for the health of the movement that they should be expressed frankly and openly and not behind the back of the movement, thereby preventing the collective experience of the movement from coming into play.

If differences are confined in their development to a fringe of the movement or a sector of the movement, they tend to give comrades involved a one-sided view, lining them up quickly and prejudicing their thinking before they have heard an open debate and developing their capacity for objective judgment.

Comrades who think they have differences should conduct themselves in a responsible and disciplined manner so as to safeguard the unity of the movement and educate the membership in principled politics.

The evidence of Gordon Stone and supplementary evidence particularly that relating to the comrades' NDP work show that the Atlantic local comrades

were not functioning in this Bolshevik manner. This brought about a most unfortunate situation which was brought out in the open only by the intervention of the leadership of the movement. The experience has proven in a negative way the experiences of those who have gone before us about how to build the Trotskyist movement. It is to be hoped that from this experience not only the comrades directly involved, but the entire movement will learn.

Central Executive Council, YS/LJS

Young Socialists
Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Dec. 1971

Executive Council Plenum Reports

$1.00

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Executive Council Plenum Reports

This bulletin contains the reports adopted by the December 1971 plenary meeting of the Executive Council of the YS/LJS which together represent the political direction of the YS/LJS. *(The EC resident in Toronto, Canada –ed.)*

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POLITICAL REPORT

What is the task of this plenum? It is to examine the situation before us, determine the possibilities for furthering our task of building a mass Trotskyist student organization in Canada, and to lay plans for meeting this challenge in the next period. This is the task of the four other political reports. The purpose of this report is to give an overview of our work and the present situation, to lay the basis for the reports that discuss our specific areas of intervention — the anti-war movement, women's liberation – and the report that concretely projects the organizational tasks before the YS/LJS, the organizational report.

The world situation is clear. There were several articles and editorials in the daily papers this Christmas complaining about the fact the people of the world are not listening to the religious message of "peace on earth." I remember one priceless headline that lamented the fact that the "quarrels" of the people of South East Asia, the Mid-east and Ireland were conflicting with the true meaning of the Christian Christmas! We see in country after country the crisis of imperialism as it is confronted with (people) struggling for control of their lives. There is no "lull" in this struggle. On the eve of this plenum, amidst the talk about "winding down" the war in Indo-China, Nixon launched full scale bombing raids on North Vietnam.

In Canada this world crisis of capitalism is reflected in every aspect of the economy. U.S. imperialism's domination of Canada presents an ongoing crisis. One U.S. plant after another closes here in Canada. Our war distorted economy is unable to satisfy the needs of Canadian workers and students. Students feel acutely the contradiction between what should be possible here and what is the reality of Canada today. For all his farcical "opportunities for youth" schemes, Trudeau has nothing to offer Canadian students — nothing but disappointments, more cutbacks in education spending and a tighter lean squeeze.

But students are making their own contribution to the crisis of Canadian capitalism — they are in the forefront of the growing anti-capitalist movements. The student radicalization is obviously deepening. Students have come into struggle as Québécois and as women demanding their rights to control their destinies. And they have come into struggle against U.S. imperialism. This fall school term was an important one for the student radicalization. The biggest student

action to ever take place in English Canada took place this fall – the mass protests of high school and university students across the country against the Amchitka nuclear test.

We also saw this fall a growing receptivity among students to socialist ideas, a real interest in Marxism. This was most dramatically shown by the tours which we organized, particularly the very successful tour of Ernest Mandel. It was also seen in the success of our joint subscription drive, and in the growth in influence and effectiveness of the YS/LJS. Reading the campus papers from across the country you can get a bit of a picture as to the big impact our comrades are having on the campuses. We have also found that, especially in moving *(intervening in)* the Amchitka protests, our student councilors have been able to be effective. In fact we have been so effective on SFU *(Simon Fraser University, Burnaby BC)* for example, that we have been impeached. The old-new left there ganged up with the right to get us out of office. We can expect that sort of thing to happen elsewhere where we are so effective at mobilizing students through those positions that we panic the elements who fear the mobilization of students. In one of the high schools where we have student councilors, at West Kildonan in Winnipeg, we led a struggle of students for democratic rights to victory.

Youth Radicalization

All the developments in the campuses and high schools bear out the basic analysis upon which the YS/LJS was founded and has continued to work on over the past 11 years. We have seen that youth are in revolt against capitalism. The bourgeois press looks at this revolt which h**as** many forms and cannot be totally ignored by anyone, and they say -- ah, there is a generation gap." But the fact of the matter is that the problems youth face do not stem from the fact that they are younger than their parents but from the fact that their most basic needs are denied by a rotten stinking social order. The problem facing youth i**s** that capitalism exists.

Youth are radicalizing around the central contradictions in capitalist society -- war, the oppression of women, national oppression. It is because of this that students can unite with other oppressed sectors in a common struggle against capitalism. Students have no vested interests in maintaining the present system. They have not been beaten down by past defeats of the working class in its struggle against capitalism. They are the most free of any sector in their ability to move out against society, since they are not tied down by family commitments, traditions or even jobs.

For these reasons and the fact that youth are the objects of a crash program designed to cripple their characters and make them fit into the capitalist mold, youth are an explosive sector of the anti-capitalist forces. The only solution to their problems is socialism. As they struggle against one injustice or another they become more and more disillusioned with this society's ability to come across, to fulfill its promises.

The Fourth International, in its last world congress, saw the winning of youth to the Fourth International as a central task because of the radicalization of youth throughout the world. Students are in the forefront of revolutionary struggles everywhere. Their natural allies are the class that has no use for capitalism -- the working class. A key task of Trotskyists everywhere is to win these radicalizing youth to the side of the worker's revolution, and its vanguard party.

This is the basis on which we have been working in Canada. We know that youth will come to the revolution through their own struggles, with their own leadership. This fact determines the need for the YS/LJS for a revolutionary socialist youth organization that organized youth around the clear program of Trotskyism. It organizes youth where they are concentrated, in the schools. It educates them in what it takes to make a revolution. The YS/LJS is formed on both the recognition of the combined character of the Canadian revolution and the unified rule of the bourgeoisie over two nations though its one state. We have developed through each new development in the struggle of students, deepening our understanding, developing our analysis further, testing our cadre. We have gained more confidence in our ability to lead as we actually do lead.

Vietnam-Amchitka -- U.S. Imperialism

The underlying factor in the student radicalization is the world crisis of imperialism. It is no accident that Amchitka was the biggest student action. Students around the world have come into the struggle against imperialism. Capitalism is caught in a bind and students feel the pinch. It needs expanded markets, the monster has to continually grow to survive. Competition sharpens in the fight for new markets. But markets are actually shrinking not expanding, as revolutions break countries free from capitalism. This poses for the capitalists a very urgent need to halt any further advances in the world revolution and to in fact turn back the tide. The efforts of the imperialists to maintain their exploitation and oppression and to crush revolutionary movements have been the prime factor in radicalizing youth in Canada as well as in the rest of the capitalist world.

Vietnam is both the focus of the efforts of imperialism to turn back the tide of revolution and, therefore, the focus of anti-capitalist struggle of youth. Vietnam exposes it all – not just the role of U.S. imperialism, but also the role of the Canadian government. It exposes the Canadian rulers inability and lack of desire to break with U.S. imperialism, and the fact that the Canadian economy is tied up lock stock and barrel with the U.S. war machine. Vietnam has given birth to a widespread anti-imperialist feeling in Canada that is not just directed against the U.S. role in Vietnam but also against the U.S. domination of Canada. This was the sentiment that burst into the streets November 3 in massive demonstrations of students demanding "blast Nixon, not Amchitka."

Amchitka was a symbol of the U.S. government's complete disregard for the lives and wishes of the people of the world. Students felt strongly that Nixon did not care whether he caused earthquakes, nuclear pollution, death or anything by his test – after all look what he was

doing in Vietnam. And Nixon clearly responded by blowing the bomb up on Nov. 6, an international day of protest, just days after hundreds of thousands of Canadian demonstrated their opposition – he responded that U.S. imperialism was not the least interested in what Canadians had to say about what they thought was their own country. For those who missed the point of the surcharge, Amchitka made the whole thing perfectly clear.

Amchitka also clearly pointed to the way to organize against imperialism. While there were many ways suggested, blocking trains, evacuating the west coast, praying, letters to Nixon etc, the one that the students chose was mass action. High school students walked out, in some cases, of their schools defying threats of reprisals. University students turned campus papers into anti-Amchitka mobilizers, sent buses of students to border protests, held mass student rallies on the campus, helped and organized mass demonstrations at U.S. consulates. We saw once again the big role played by high school students, who, in most areas provided the majority of the demonstrators. The significance of the Amchitka upsurge lies not just in the fact that it happened but also in the precedents it set. It showed the way, mass action in the streets, taking over university facilities to organize, forcing student councils to see their role as mobilizing students against imperialism.

Women and Québécois

Two other important factors in the radicalization of youth are the radicalization of Québécois and of women each around their specific oppression. When we say we are out to build the student wings of the Quebec nationalist movement or the feminist movement we don't mean that we are out to build some auxiliaries to some basically non-student movements. We are saying we want to build the movements of women students and Québécois students against the oppression, and around demands which they feel-meet their real needs.

The struggle for the defence of the French language has emerged as the central struggle against the national oppression of the Québécois. The anglicisation of the Québécois hits students particularly hard. It takes part to a large extent in the schools. The message to Quebec youth is clear – either learn English or face a life of being unemployed in French.

The fight of legal abortion on demand so that women can control their own bodies has emerged, as the focus for the struggle or women against their oppression. Sexual repression is a central aspect of the special oppression of youth. It is key to the maintenance of capitalism. The claim of young women that they have a right to sex without fear or pregnancy, their parents or God, is horrifying to the capitalists. The maintenance of the family, and of women's role in it is essential to the maintenance of capitalism. Access to safe abortion would threaten the further acceptance of women's role as primarily a wife and mother. The denial by the Government of the right to abortion exposes a big contradiction — the means for safe abortion exist, why shouldn't women have access to them if they want them? The only reason is that a minority has a vested interest in continuing the oppression of women.

The NDP

Another element in the radicalization of Canadian students is the existence of a mass labor party, the New Democratic Party. The fact that the workers in English Canada have an organized political expression reflects their sophistication. But the NDP is a factor in the student radicalization too. We have seen how the NDP is both affected by the growing radicalization, primarily among youth, and how it affects this radicalization.

To students serious about wanting to change Canadian society we have pointed to the need to support the NDP as the political arm of the class that is going to change society and have also pushed the need to build a left wing opposition to its reformist leadership. We have supported the slogan put forward by the League for Socialist Action – "Win the NDP to Socialism."

It is precisely around our orientation to the New Democratic Party that has brought us much criticism from other elements of the student left. A few years ago, much of the "new left" came to the realization that in fact it was the working class, as the Trotskyists had been saying all these years, that would change society. We greeted this realization as a big step forward and attempted to educate further on how the class would make the revolution. One of the things we tried to educate on was the role of the NDP. But most of these forces felt that the NDP was "irrelevant." Some became convinced of our analysis and joined the YS/LJS – most notably was the leadership of the Committee for a Socialist Movement in Saskatoon.

Recently we have seen many student radicals who previously wrote off the NDP as a factor, become involved in it through its Waffle caucus. Although many of these radicals still lack a clear analysis of the NDP, we must see this as a big step forward as another manifestation of the deepening radicalization. Because it is not just a few radicals who have been drawn to the NDP and/or to its Waffle Caucus, it is a broad sector of the student population. These students might never have been organizationally involved in either but they are in general sympathetic to the NDP left. Their support comes from two main things: 1) the relevance of the NDP as a labor party to radicalizing youth, and 2) the fact that the Waffle has strongly identified itself with anti-imperialist sentiment that is particularly widespread among students.

We have the task to intervene in this development in the student radicalization. We understand both the advantages and shortcomings of the NDP. We understand how to build a meaningful "workers-student alliance" through organizing students as students. And we understand the necessity of building a revolutionary leadership, of building a vanguard party to lead the working class to a successful revolution. Along with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvnère, which we see as the embryo of that party, we are involved in building this vanguard. We understand, also, the necessity of building the mass movements – abortion, Quebec, anti-war, etc, as the most effective extra parliamentary activity."

Political opponents

While we have no one strong opponent organization on the left with which we come into contact across the country, we have many opponents. There are Maoist groupings like the CCP, ex Maoist-groups anarchist groups, the Stalinist YCL, Canadian Liberation Movement, Yippies,

leftist collectives and conglomerations. On many campuses where there are no opponent organizations we have opponents, reformists and new leftists, grouped around the student councils and student newspapers.

Our opponents, for all their different politics, have one thing in common — they all fail to understand the revolutionary process – how social change comes about. The ultra-leftists and the reformists all have illusions about capitalism and how it will be changed. They don't understand the revolution as being the struggle of the masses against the
oppression they feel, around concrete demands directed at their oppressors. They don't understand how people learn the nature of capitalism through their own struggles. They also fail to understand that the oppressed will not win through single struggles – whether they be a "confrontation" of the ultra-left or a reform action of the reformists. The revolution is a process which combines the struggles of the different oppressed groups.
But these formalists oppose this concept, whether they are opposing the Quebec language struggle, saying that the struggle of women for abortion is not important or that it is "reformist," or whether they are saying the war in Vietnam is "irrelevant" to the struggle against Amchitka.

Any group that fails to recognize the nature of the radicalization and to intervene in it to lead it toward the revolution cannot call itself a revolutionary leadership. The YS/LJS has proven in the struggle itself that it is such a leadership. The other tendencies continually point up how much they are lacking. Unlike all the other tendencies, we see no contradiction between building the YS/LJS and building the mass movements — we understand that both are essential to the revolution.

We have to challenge all the tendencies and individuals in the left to come into the mass movements, to participate in making the revolution. We have to take them on, debate their incorrect ideas before students and in the process win students to our organization. I think some comrades have the misconception that we recruit only when we have a clear field, when there are no opponents organized in that particular school or movement. Nothing could be further from the truth. We recruit in competition with all the illusions of this society whether they are expressed in an organized form or not. It is a really great situation when we can take on opponents and show their wrong politics. This not only helps us to recruit the students who witness the debate, and sometimes better elements around our opponents, but we gain confidence in our ideas and our ability to present them.

Conclusion

How far have we come in building the YS/LJS into the mass revolutionary socialist organization that we are out to become? I think you can say that we are well on the road. This fall we saw a further development of our cadre through our big intervention in the mass movements, and our further consolidation of our organization. Not only are all the objective conditions good for this development, but the cadre has shown that we are more and more able to take advantage of this situation and turn it into concrete gains for the revolutionary movement.

This plenum is part of that process. The rest of the reports will map out the immediate challenges before us in building the Spring Offensive.

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Executive Council Plenum Reports

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ANTI-WAR REPORT

The November Amchitka protests were the largest, the most demonstrative upsurge in the student movement (that) Canada has ever seen. More than 50 thousand students took to the streets against the threat of senseless destruction of human lives and the environment by the U.S. war machine. University students boycotted classes or forced the administration to cancel them; tens of thousands of high school students defied principals and school officials and walked out of school. They united in the streets to stop Nixon.

Amchitka sparked a powerful wave of hatred of Nixon, of the war machine and of imperialism.

Where did this sentiment come from?

The antiwar movement on an international scale has exposed for all to see the destructive imperialist exploits of the U.S. in Vietnam, it has taught the youth of the world a hatred for imperialism and nurtured anti-imperialism. One need only compare the militancy and the political level of these actions with those of the ban the bomb movement in the early sixties to see that the antiwar movement has exposed imperialism and educated a whole generation about it.

It would not have been the same if France were exploding the test in the Aleutians. No – it was the American war-makers, those who have massacred at Mylai, at Kent and who brought destruction and death to the land and people of Vietnam.

Not only did the antiwar movement show Canadian youth who the enemy was, but also how to fight it. It trained the new radicals in mass action in demonstrations in the streets, to trust no one but themselves. Those enraged by Amchitka aimed their fire at Nixon and organized themselves in massive actions.

Nixon and his friends are not to be trusted. Just this week he has renewed his attacks on North Vietnam in the biggest bombing raid in three years. He sent in at least 350 planes in non-stop raids, dropping the new "block-buster" bomb called the "closest thing to nuclear weapons."

In an editorial entitled "The Thunder of Withdrawal" the *Globe and Mail* pointed out the horror of the war and of the recent bombings, describing the damage that these new bombs could do. The editorial warns Nixon of the futility of what he is doing, that his plans for withdrawal aren't working and that all he is doing is fanning the flames of hatred for himself.

The *(Toronto daily) Globe* is afraid of the antiwar movement which is ready to respond to every aggressive act of the Pentagon. The antiwar movement is a powerful objective force in world politics. It has changed the consciousness of millions of people and brought them to the side of the Vietnamese.

World Revolution

To understand the importance of the antiwar movement it is important to place Vietnam in the context of the world revolution.

With the crumbling of the old colonial empires of France and England after World War II, the movement for national liberation grew to a massive tide. For the last quarter of a century the axis of world politics has been the mounting colonial revolution and the efforts of the imperialist powers to contain it. Indonesia, Algeria, Korea, Egypt, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, China, Cuba, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Malaya, Philippines, Congo, Angola, Venezuela are only a few countries where battles have been fought. As the only major imperialist country not exhausted by the war, the U.S., became the heir-apparent to the old colonial empires and the imperialist power entrusted with the role of containment of the colonial revolution.

The aim of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was to stem the rising tide of revolution, to encircle the Chinese workers' state with military bases, to roll back the victorious revolutions in China and North Vietnam, and to show its allies and all the peoples of the world that it will use all its destructive force to crush those who seek self-determination and freedom from the chains of imperialism. Vietnam was chosen as the place to stop and crush the colonial revolution.

These remain the purposes of the U.S. in Vietnam but the stakes have become higher. War and revolution have spread throughout Indochina to Cambodia, Laos, parts of Thailand and Burma. The war has brought inflation, crisis into the world monetary system, the wage freeze, and a growing dissatisfaction among the American people. Moreover after six years of open warfare by the most powerful military machine of all time, the Vietnamese revolution has not been crushed.

Rather than becoming a warning to all those who defy imperialism, Vietnam has become the inspiration to revolutionary movements the world over. Victory to the Vietnamese would be a great impetus to the developing world revolution. This explains the intransigence of the American ruling class in the face of international opposition.

Radicalization

Now there is another important factor on the scene. Vietnam had rallied the youth of the world against imperialism. It remains the key spark to the world-wide radicalization. Vietnam inspires the hatred for imperialism among youth the world over and awakened them to the destructiveness, the misplaced priorities of capitalism.

The fuse for the I960 French general strike was lit by an anti-war demonstration at Nanterre University. The rifts in the American ruling class and the massive student strike of 1970 came

from the response of American youth to the war in Vietnam. The antiwar demonstrations set the Canadian student movement in motion. The massive upsurge in the student movement in November against Amchitka was generated by the Vietnam war – the hatred of imperialism, the anti-Nixon, anti-U.S. sentiment that had been fueled by the Kents, Cambodias, the Mylais, the Calley trials. This sentiment found its expression in Amchitka — a concrete symbol of Nixon's disdain for humanity.

In pulling together all these factors we have an explosive situation. The mightiest imperialist power committed to crushing the Indochinese revolution — the revolution spreading throughout the Indochinese peninsula —the conflict awakening the consciousness of youth around the world. A large-scale escalation in the war will alienate the American people and bring the international antiwar movement into the streets. The Vietnamese are maintaining their heroic struggle. The antiwar movement is exposing Nixon's lies and is poised for action. The situation is explosive because the war is by no means over.

Nixon is trying to pretend that the war is "winding down". With his overtures to Mao he has masqueraded as a great peacemaker. He has talked about plans for withdrawal, while seeking a settlement that will leave South Vietnam squarely in U.S.-puppet hands.

War Goes On

Meanwhile the war rages on. 1971 saw an unsuccessful invasion of Cambodia by Saigon troops in early January. At the end of January 30,000 Saigon troops, backed by U.S. helicopters invaded Laos; two months later, Thieu's army was driven from Laos suffering 40 percent casualties. At a Nov.12 news conference Nixon declared his intention to maintain an occupation army in South Vietnam as long as Thieu needed it (and we can see he's going to need it) and threatened to escalate the air war. 0N Nov.22, 45,000 Saigon troops entered Cambodia backed by U.S. aircraft and advisers. Now there are massive air strikes on North Vietnam by U.S. planes.

Militarily the U.S. has shifted its tactics, seeing that a victory is impossible without a massive escalation involving U.S. troops which would bring a crisis at home (this is a victory for the antiwar movement.) The U.S. has shifted the ground fighting to the Saigon army — the puppet army of mercenaries that the U.S. totally maintains and finances. This army that is supposed to be taking the place of American forces is suffering casualties of 300 a week.

However, the big change is the air war. While making token withdrawals of troops, the Pentagon has stepped up the air war to a level exceeding any in the history of the war. U.S. planes drop 100 tons of bombs on Indochina every hour killing 300 Indochinese a day. As well there is the "automated" war whereby the military based in Thailand can carry out the war through the use of computers, sensors and guided missiles. Upon completion of Nixon's latest troop withdrawal in February, there will still be 140,000 G.I.s *(conscripts –ed.)* in Vietnam, 13,000 sailors off the coast and 32,000 troops in Thailand carrying out the air war. The napalming will continue.

The U.S. has only shifted its tactics and is continuing with full force and determination its aggression against the people of Vietnam. And it is important to note that it is doing so with the

full active support of all the capitalist allies — Canada being the most notable one.

Canada

The Canadian ruling class, as imperialists in their own right, with their own system, and with their own foreign interests in the Caribbean, Brazil, Ireland, and Quebec to defend, have from the beginning thrown in their lot with U.S. imperialism.

Canadian diplomats have lied and spied for the U.S. J. Blair Seaborn ran messages to Hanoi threatening the North Vietnamese with bombing in 1964-65. Canadian representatives on the International Control Commission have acted as apologists for U.S. aggression. Even Canadian medical aid was put at the disposal of the puppet regime.

Canada has entered military alliances with the U.S. like NATO and NORAD which, as John Warnock points out in his book "Partner to Behemoth," tie Canadian foreign policy totally to the U.S. State Department. Under the NATO alliance, Canada sends troops to Europe, freeing American troops for Vietnam. Under NORAD, the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system was set up — for which Amchitka was a test. Through these military alliances have come the Defense Production Sharing agreements, by which defense production between the U.S. and Canada are coordinated and Canadian arms go to American forces in Vietnam to the tune of 300 million dollars a year – everything from explosives to fighter bomber navigation systems. Canadian natural resources are crucial to the war effort. Defoliants and chemical warfare are tested and developed in Canada by the Defense Research Board. Much of this research goes on at Canadian universities.

Lies

Of course all this has been very hush-hush. In fact Prime Ministers and numerous government spokesmen have lied about it. The reason why is very obvious.

As a lesser imperialist power Canada to some degree has been able to avoid arousing international anger. The Canadian ruling class has not yet had to use the counter-insurgency troops trained in the Caribbean and Camp Petawawa, Ontario, against liberation movements except under the cover of United Nations forces. Canada has been passed off as a peaceful little country (with its occasional War Measures) with its "progressive" Prime Minister Trudeau.

The rulers don't want to expose the real nature of Canada as an imperialist power which actively supports a war that the majority of Canadians oppose. They don't want to feel the majority sentiment against the U.S. domination of Canada by exposing their complete subservience in American foreign policy and military needs. They are not interested in showing the Québécois that they are out to crush national struggles around the world.

But even a *Toronto Star* editorial on Nov. 29 admits that Canada has "permanent status of sub-contractors to the Pentagon," and that this "dependency is warping the Canadian economy and political, diplomatic and military life."

That is why the antiwar movement poses such a challenge to the Canadian state. That is why police have blocked antiwar demonstrations and school principles have fought against antiwar assemblies. The antiwar movement aims squarely at the true oppressive nature of the Canadian state and its subservience to the U.S. With demands for End Canada's Complicity and Break with NATO, NORAD, ICC, it articulates the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. sentiment that challenges U.S. domination.

That is why it is the duty of revolutionaries to build the antiwar movement – not only to defend the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, but to challenge the Canadian government and its policies.

Socialist Tasks

And it is most important now for the Young Socialists to intervene because there are great pressures from the ruling circles against building the antiwar movement and these pressures are being reflected in the attitudes of sectors of the student movement and the left.

We have to point out that the war is not winding down. We have to point out that when Nixon is talking about making peace he is talking about making a settlement over the heads of the Vietnamese people. For those who say that the antiwar movement has nothing to do with Canada, that it is not an issue, we have to point to Amchitka which was a direct product of U.S. imperialism and to NATO and NORAD, showing that it was the antiwar movement that gave birth to that sentiment. Revolutionaries have to point to Canada's complicity in the war —give the facts and figures. We have to show those who call themselves anti-imperialists that the anti-war movement is challenging the domination by the U.S. of Canadian economy, diplomacy and politics.

Moreover, the antiwar movement poses a big challenge for revolutionaries because it takes the anti-imperialist sentiment into the streets. This is what the Maoists with their vague anti-imperialism can't do. This is what the Waffle has been unable to do with its "Energy Resources Campaign." This is what the New Left with its flashy "anti-imperialist" groupings has been unable to do. We start with the immediate interests of people and mobilize them in a concrete movement in the streets, in defense of a revolution and against the state that oppresses them – a movement which raises people's political consciousness. Amchitka showed the potential for mobilizing masses of people against the Pentagon. It showed the power of the student movement. That is why we revolutionaries have a responsibility to build (and) lead the antiwar movement.

We prove ourselves as revolutionaries not by some red contingent or rhetoric about revolution but by being the most consistent builders, the best organizers, marshals and activists of the movement which is defending the Vietnamese revolution.

We know that those who march in the antiwar movement march at the side of the Vietnamese, opening the way for the coming Canadian revolution. *(end)*

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WOMEN'S LIBERATION REPORT

The most outstanding characteristic of the new feminism in Canada is its deep-going challenge to every aspect of women's oppression including the hitherto "sacred" role of women in the family.

At the heart of this radicalization of women is the ever growing contradiction between the tremendous wealth in Canadian society and the fact that material resources already exist to free women from domestic slavery and the reality that it is not being done by the capitalist order.

The new feminism in Canada has seen a blossoming of consciousness among women of all sectors of society to issues ranging from abortion, child-care, equal job and educational opportunities. At the last plenum, we analyzed that this growing sentiment around women's liberation had not yet crystallized into a mass movement, that there were only a few small and splintered women's liberation groups across the country. We saw that our tasks as revolutionary socialists was to bridge the gap between this tremendous ferment which existed among women and direct it into a movement which profoundly challenged the capitalist system. We saw that the campaign for abortion was an opportunity to do this; that through it the women's liberation movement could take the step forward to becoming a real political force, fighting in an effective way to meet the needs of women. We saw that it wasn't possible to organize around the totality of women's oppression, but around concrete demands. Abortion, we analysed, was the key issue at this time, that nobody could deny that the abortion question has created more impact in Canadian politics, provoked the most debate and concern than any other of the demands the women's liberation movement had raised. We saw that it was no accident that abortion had become the central issue, for the denial by the law of the right of women to control their own body was one of the fundamental forms of their oppression. For the denial of abortion means the denial of the right of women to determine how they run their lives.

A woman's lack of control over pregnancy is necessary in order to keep women in their places as wives and mothers; it is used as an excuse to prevent women from getting better jobs, higher pay, etc.

The denial of abortion is an important tool of capitalism to keep women down. Thus the struggle for abortion assumes an anti-capitalist dynamic and challenges such fundamental institutions as the family. It is no liberal issue, it is part of the tremendously revolutionary struggle that we see beginning to develop among oppressed peoples, the right to control one's own life.

Our Fall work

At the last plenum in August we projected launching a full-scale abortion campaign around the slogan of repeal all abortion laws, and building broad coalitions which would involve women from all sectors of society. We analysed that by raising the slogan of "repeal," we would be able to involve many more forces in the campaign; we projected that this slogan would enable us to move out and build a mass movement around the abortion issue. Our experience had shown us that the slogan of free abortion on demand had in the past seriously limited the campaign. The success we have had this fall in setting up coalitions and building the November 20th campaign vindicates our analysis of the repeal slogan.

In almost every area where we exist we have been successful to some degree in forming coalitions and in some areas such as Toronto and Vancouver these included organizations such as the Y.W.C.A. and the United Church, organizations that previously had refused to join a coalition around "Free Abortion on Demand."

Specifically, this fall we projected major actions on November 20th. The Nov. 20th actions reflected the broadness of the campaign and the impact it was having on even the conservative sectors of society. Nov. 20th demonstrated two things: first, it showed the dynamism of the campaign itself and secondly, that abortion is the issue around which the opposition to women's liberation is mobilizing. The actions were the largest ever held around abortion with over a thousand women demonstrating across the country. The actions were specifically important as a unifying force, uniting for the first time broad sectors of women fighting for a woman's right to choose.

In Quebec especially we could see the dynamic and potential of the abortion campaign. In Quebec, of course, the crisis of abortion is acute – fewer abortions are performed in Quebec than anywhere else. Our comrades moved out and initiated coalitions, broad coalitions, which succeeded in getting support from the NDP and many other organizations and individuals. On Nov. 20 Montreal had 500 people demonstrate in Canada's largest demonstration. The majority of the demonstrators were Québécois demonstrating that the campaign has roots in Quebec.

November 20th was seen by its participants as clearly the beginning of the campaign to win the right to abortion for all women.

We can draw several conclusions from our fall work. First, it has established clearly that the abortion campaign is the focus of women's struggle against their oppression with coalitions and successful November 20th actions. This flows from what we have analyzed earlier on — that is the lack of control of women over their bodies is a fundamental aspect of their oppression, We've seen this; that's why we've devoted our energies to building the abortion campaign. We've also seen how every other tendency and every other feminist who ….*(text broken --ed.)*...but who oppose it in essence are, in fact, opposed to building a mass feminist movement, that is, a movement that actually struggles against the government for the needs of women.

This outlook has been further vindicated by the experience of the new left groups across this country which, failing to focus on the abortion issue, are splintered and fragmented, with their

disintegration and disappearance in some areas. Now some comrades have been concerned about focusing on abortion, and not taking up some of the other issues; others have felt guilty about not building women's liberation groups. We understand that other issues will arise and assume a great importance. But at the present time the direction is clear. We're out to build the abortion campaign and to mobilize our forces behind it. To do otherwise would be to ignore the primary struggle for feminists at this time. That means that at this time we don't want to initiate multi-issue feminist groups. However, we do want to intervene in already existing women's liberation groups and win them to the perspective that their main task as feminists at this time is to build the abortion campaign.

We see the abortion groups as a part of and not at all separate from the feminist movement. Here there will be all sorts of debates, discussion and educationals that are going to develop the feminists of this age.

Secondly, we have to conclude from our fall experiences that it is going to take quite a while to win the majority of people who are for repeal to the concept of mass action. For while the Nov. 20th actions were very successful and had broad sponsorship, at the same time many of the organizations who endorsed the campaign were unable to bring out their membership to participate in the marches. Thus we have a challenge before us, to begin to involve all these people who support us and to educate them to our perspective of mass action. We see the petition campaign as a major means to do this — we view this petition as a mass mobilizer, as a means for involving thousands of Canadian women who we would not normally be able to reach. This petition can be taken into every high school and every campus; it can become an organizing tool in the schools. We want to project an ongoing petition campaign that sets quotas and deadlines — 100,000 by Mother's Day — and a campaign that will attempt to have every Canadian who agrees sign up, a campaign that will continue until we win repeal. The petition will be complemented by other activities, for instance, around March 8th we want to carry actions on the campuses, teach-ins, etc,

Campus work

For the abortion campaign to become a powerful movement in this country there is a very real need for it to become embedded in the campus. It is out of this milieu that we will be able to draw large numbers of women activists who will form the backbone of the movement.

While campus women have easier access to, and more knowledge of, birth control information and devices than high school women, they still become pregnant. The denial of abortion drastically affects their lives. For an unwanted pregnancy can disrupt their whole education and plans for a career. Many are forced into marriage; others have severe financial problems trying to get enough money to go to New York or procure an illegal abortion.

We can see the necessity of establishing the campus base by looking at the present coalitions. While they have a tremendous amount of support and sponsorship the activists of these coalitions do not extend much beyond us; nor do the organizations endorsing the campaign have a concept of mass action. Campus women can add an essential dimension in their activism and can be won more quickly to our strategy of mass action. They have more opportunity to organize than any

other women and have achieved a measure of independence and freedom from their families. Their experiences in the student movement around such actions as Amchitka have given them an increased understanding of the need to have mass demonstrations in order to win abortion repeal. Not only will the campus give us activists but it will also give the campaign its revolutionary dynamic, as there is more openness on campus to feminist and revolutionary ideas.

We've only begun to realize the potential of this issue on the campus through our setting up of abortion groups on different campuses and carrying on various activities. A glimpse of the future can be seen in the actions across the country on the campuses around Nov. 20th, the 200 people at the teach-in at the University of Manitoba, the 65 who attended a panel discussion at the University of Saskatchewan, the overwhelming support and sympathy to the Mclnnis petition in the dorms at U. of T. and the great interest aroused in the campus press. Apart from this the campuses can provide a solid financial basis for the abortion coalitions as shown in the success we've had in such places as Saskatoon, Toronto and Manitoba all of which have raised from $200 to $300.

Because we've only just begun to move out in a big way with this issue on the campuses we are still quite small and weak. This section of the report deals with how we intend to extend this base, the major means being a cross-Canada referendum campaign on the campuses.

The referendum campaign is the way we see carrying the repeal petition on to the campuses and is in no way in contradiction to it. Like the petition campaign it is an extremely effective method of involving women at all different levels of understanding and commitment; coming in contact with and involving masses of students which we would be unable to do in any other way.

The referendum is a tool for both educating and building confidence among women on this issue. We see it as being a major means of building up groups of women on each campus who will organize around abortion on a continuing basis, and carrying on a variety of actions and educational activities.

The referendum itself should only put to the university community the question of whether or not the abortion laws should be repealed. Before we were considering adding parts on whether the administration should take a stand, etc. However, we feel that it is unnecessary to do this at this time; that our main task is to convince people of the necessity of repeal and that to pose the other questions might only limit the support. With the winning of the referendum campaign this can be posed in a much more concrete and convincing manner.

The referendum campaign consists of two stages which I will outline briefly here but which is described in more detail by the U. of T, abortion group in a brief to the Ontario Women's Abortion Coalition and circulated nationally.

First, the student council has to be approached and asked to hold a referendum. We have to point out to them how abortion is an issue of vital concern to students, and that it is their duty to make the opinion of students known, to force the government into action. If they refuse, a petition should be drawn up and circulated immediately demanding that they do this. This can serve as an excellent opportunity to begin the publicity for the referendum campaign and for

meeting people to help later. At the same tune the Mclnnis petition should be circulated with the other petition. Once the referendum has been called we can' t sit back, but it is at this time we have to go into high gear with the campaign. In no way can we have the concept that it is going to be easy to win and that without organizing we are going to obtain an overwhelming victory. Our task throughout this campaign is to convince all the people who are undecided or are against legal abortion, and there are many, to come over to our side. For this we have to be highly organized and swamp the campus with leaflets, posters and fact sheets arguing the right of women to abortion. The Mclnnis petition must be used as a major tool with **teams of people** going out convincing people to vote yes on the referendum and to sign the petition.

It is most likely that once we get into the campaign that we are going to stir up the anti abortionists to organize; already in response to the repeal group at U. of T. a campus based right-to-life group has been formed at St. Michael's, the catholic college. We can't be afraid of this opposition but meet it head on, welcoming the debate. We should not be afraid of polarization because on this issue there is no in between, people must take a stand either way.

Repeal won't be sneaked in; it is only through confrontation and our exposing of the anti-abortionists that we will win. This opposition often is very sophisticated and will try to project an image of being progressive pro-life and humanists. The tables should be turned with them being shown for what they are – anti-women and guilty of the deaths of thousands of women; and the constant fear of countless others.

Debates, articles in the campus press, the play " What Have You Done For Me Lately", a leaflet directed at bringing catholic women over to our side, mock trials, speak-outs, are just a few of the possibilities for building this campaign.

We should approach the different student councils, professors and support staff to get them to endorse the campaign for legal abortion, urging people to vote "yes" on the referendum. The student council should provide money so that we can publicize our case, as well the student newspapers should provide space for the debate and write editorials in support of repeal of the abortion laws.

Our running in the student councils elections will serve both to build the referendum campaign and to draw people who've been involved around this issue into our movement. As leaders of the abortion campaign, a major part of our program will deal with demands for the repeal of the laws, adequate facilities etc. The whole momentum that will have been built around this issue on the campus will make our campaign very real to the students.

The campus referendums on abortion will be a concretization of our red university strategy for through it we will be using the facilities of the university not to support the status quo but as an instrument of social change. The winning of the referendum will give us a powerful lever to force the administrations to take a stand on this issue and to provide facilities for those organizing on the campus for repeal etc. It will also be a powerful indictment of the present Trudeau government, an indicator of the support the repeal campaign has got in the campuses across this country.

High Schools

It is perhaps at the high school level that the abortion issue is most explosive. For here it clearly challenges a fundamental tenet of society that sex should be had only within marriage and that those that transgress this rule must be punished by an unwanted pregnancy, loss of education etc. The fight for abortion asserts a woman's right at any age to have freedom of sexual expression, sex without fear. If the right to abortion is established in the high schools the whole conservative sexual ideology that is used to drive people into the family will be cut across. Because of this, abortion is going to meet much opposition in the high schools from the administration and parents.

While many liberals will admit that there is a need for birth-control they shun the thought of high school women needing abortions. They stop short at this ultimate assertion of a women*s right to control her own body. They see birth control as a theoretical question. Linked into this is the whole myth that high school women don't need abortions. When a high school woman gets pregnant the whole affair is swept under the rug – the woman is forced to drop out of school. Yet we know this is an issue with high school women — and we must break the silence. For most of the women who drop out of school do so because of pregnancy – and many more have a permanent fear of getting pregnant, or are prevented from having sex at all.

Abortion is a crucial issue in the high schools, because it hits a fundamental aspect of youth oppression, the repression of sexuality. It concretizes the growing feeling of rejection of this society's hypocritical and brutal sexual mores, most blatant of which is the double standard. It transforms this growing rejection into struggle.

There are other issues in the high schools of women's rights and around which struggles will probably develop such as the right to wear jeans, end of strapping, But the abortion issue presents us at the present tine with the only issue that can unite all high school women in different schools into a struggle which makes a frontal assault on this system.

The right to abortion, to control one's own body is so fundamental that we see it as becoming the focus of high school women's struggle against their oppression.

From our past experiences although only limited to few cities, we can make a few generalizations about the high school wing of the abortion movement.

First of all there is the pressure not to campaign for abortion by only talking about birth control information and better sex education. We really have to expose the myth that high school women don't need abortions. We have to establish that abortion and birth control go hand in hand, and that abortion is but a form of birth control.

Secondly, we need to tie the high school campaigns into the broad movement of women for control over their bodies. This flows from the difficulties in running a campaign in the high schools, the general isolation, the repressive structure of the schools, and the pressures from parents particularly around such a controversial issue as abortion. It is essential to the building of a base in the high schools, that there is the backing of the overall coalition with its power and prestige.

Thirdly, we need the forms and the tools of struggle, suited to organizing in the repressive situation of the high schools. We see the petition campaign as becoming that tool. With its defensive nature, it is the key to our organizing in the high schools for this whole next period. It is possible that major struggles will develop over the right to circulate the petition and that it will provoke some quite powerful opposition from the school authorities and parents. As the campaign progresses it is likely that the catholic church will try and use the separate schools for the anti abortion cause. Thus it is very important that we establish a strong base in the high schools to counteract this. We can have other activities to build the petition campaign such as speakers in the high schools, Myrna Lamb's play, a mock trial (such as the one done by the Ontario Women's Abortion Coalition) on Nov. 20th. Leaflets should be drawn up explaining why high school students should sign the petition, the laws and the situation in the high schools. We should start thinking what can be done around March 8 – perhaps assemblies on abortion or an abortion day.

Federal legislation

As we get involved in the abortion campaign we will be confronted with more and more questions, and political pressures around the repeal slogan, with reformist elements wanting only to liberalize the laws. Already this question came up in the Ontario abortion coalition and I think it would be useful to go over what happened as comrades will be meeting these questions sooner or later across the country. The government itself under the pressure of the campaign may make a move to liberalize the laws, to try to split and cut back the movement for abortion repeal. Thus we must be very clear about this issue, and carry out a big educational campaign on it.

At a recent conference of the Ontario coalition some women from the abortion collective of the women's liberation movement, presented a brief which in its essence proposed legislation that completely cut across the slogan of repeal. They proposed the right of women to abortion should be limited to ascertain number of weeks and that they only be done by certain people in specified places.

The motivation behind this brief was a feeling by these women that they had to appear reasonable to the government, that they had to formulate the legislation for the government.

We carried a successful fight against this limiting of a women1s right to control over her body. We managed to reverse the whole concept of negative legislation, and what was passed unanimously was a statement that the federal government should enact federal legislation that would ensure a woman*s right to have an abortion, that it should pressure the provinces by giving grants to provide facilities.

Now generally we don't want to get into the whole realm of what the government should do after repeal, and the details of the legislation, the liberal women on the other hand feel that they can ensure women the right to abortion by formulating the exact legislation for the government, so there are no loopholes. We feel that the only way to ensure a woman's right to abortion is to build a mass movement around the demand of repeal of abortion laws, that little detailed briefs to the government aren't going to win this campaign.

However, we are not opposed to federal legislation which guarantees a woman's right to

abortion facilities etc., will have to work out compromises, as long as these don't cut across a woman's right to abortion.

Our tasks

As a revolutionary socialist movement our biggest task is to recruit and to construct a vanguard organization that is capable of overthrowing capitalism. Our building of the abortion campaign, is based on our knowledge, that people going through experiences in this movement will lead to revolutionary conclusions. Earlier in the report we dealt with the profoundly anti-capitalist dynamic of the abortion campaign; that it leads to women questioning such fundamental institutions as the family. We feel that this campaign has the potential of bringing many young radicalizing students into our movement.

So far we haven't yet really recruited many campus women from the abortion campaign. This stems from several factors. First of all we've only first begun to work around abortion on the campuses to establish a base and to come in contact with campus abortion activists. Secondly, some of us may have had a rather mechanistic view about recruitment, seeing that a woman would have to go through stages before she came to us: 1) as an abortion activist; 2) then as a member of a women's liberation group and finally, 3) join our movement.

However, there is evidence already that women can very quickly draw revolutionary conclusions, without going through any experience in a women's liberation group. There is a necessity for us to pose the YS *(Young Socialists)* as the organization abortion activists should join, that we are the only group that has a full program for the liberation of women.

Our press must play a very important part in this, doing more educational work than it has in the past on feminism and its relationship to socialism. Selling a sub to a woman in the abortion movement is the first step to recruiting her —and we should make sure we've approached all the women in the abortion campaign about this.

At the same time we should be very conscious of holding a series of events in the locals geared to attracting abortion activists; having special classes on women and socialism.

Earlier I mentioned the unique opportunities for recruitment of abortion activists during the election campaign.

Not only does the abortion campaign present the possibility of us recruiting a large number of women, but also the opportunity to develop our women as leaders; giving them experience in heading a mass movement.

We see all the women in the movement participating in some form or other in the abortion campaign, and developing through this experience. Already we have met with considerable success in this, with comrades established as leaders of the campaign across the country.

Conclusion

To sum up, we see our task at this time is not to pull back but to extend and deepen the campaign around abortion. That the issue of abortion is still and will be for the whole next period the focus of the women's liberation movement.

We see this as being done by: 1) building abortion groups in the high schools and the campuses; 2) that our main tool in accomplishing this is the petition campaign in the high schools, with referendums being complementary to the petition in the campuses; 3) that through this campaign the YS/LJS can both develop its women cadre as leaders of a mass movement and also that we see this as the means of bringing whole layers of women into our organization.

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Executive Council Plenum Reports

This bulletin contains the reports adopted by the December 1971 plenary meeting of the Executive Council of the YS/LJS which together represent the political direction of the YS/LJS. *(The EC resident in Toronto, Canada –ed.)*

QUEBEC REPORT *(Reporter not identified -- Web Ed.)*

Comrades, the central purpose of this report is to clarify and explain the LJS priority orientation towards the movement for a French Quebec. Comrades are aware of the documents and reports from previous conventions and plenums, of the recent articles in *Libération, Labor Challenge* and the *Young Socialist,* which have described and analyzed the significance of the Québécois' struggle against assimilation for the coming Quebec Revolution. This report is based on the line already elaborated in those documents and articles. The report will attempt to explain how the events and our experiences this fall confirm the validity of our political line.

All tendencies of the left and various sectors of the trade union movement had to take a stand on this question this fall. For example, a debate was instigated among members of the Montreal Council of the CNTU by the October 16 demonstration for a French Quebec. This is an indication of the centrality and importance of the linguistic question for the Quebec labour movement. A correct position on the struggle for a French Quebec is the acid test of all left tendencies in Quebec at the present time.

The other movements which we are striving to build in Quebec – the movement to repeal abortion laws and the anti-war movement are able to involve advanced sectors of the nationalist movement. Far from being in conflict with the nationalist movement, these campaigns as our experiences have shown, help to advance the politicization of the nationalist movement.

The present situation

I am now going to present a conjunctural analysis of the situation this fall. The rebirth of mass struggles this fall in Quebec, which we foresaw at our last plenum, witnessed important actions and more pronounced confrontations of the Quebec working class with the state. The 8,000 demonstrators for a French Quebec on the anniversary of the War Measures Act invocation, did a good deal to help this process. The October 29th demonstration of 15,000 in solidarity with the *La Presse (newspaper strikers –ed.)*, attracted by *(Mayor)* Drapeau's anti-democratic law supported by the *(Quebec Liberal)* Bourassa government, became a serious confrontation with the bourgeois state. The beatings of demonstrators by Montreal City Police, the death of Michele Gauthier, the launching of the *Quotidien Populaire (a labor daily)* and the rally of 12,000 at the Montreal Forum are testimony of this.

Notwithstanding the lack of clear and concrete demands by the trade union leadership, the actions were characterized by a sentiment of solidarity and unity to an extent never before seen in Quebec. In spite of it's radical declarations, the trade union bureaucracy quickly pulled back after the November 2nd rally. A demobilization of the mass movement followed. The important

step forward taken by the labor movement expressed by the unity in action of the three major trade union federations, helps a great deal to clarify the social forces which are going to lead the national liberation struggle to victory — that is; the decisive and dominant role of the working class in the struggle for national liberation. This is a major aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution.

Because of the absence of a labour party in Quebec and the objective limitations of the vanguard – that is, of our movement – we were not able to prevent the trade union bureaucracy from leading the working class towards the Party Québécois. This occurred in spite of the PQ's opposition to the October 29 demonstration. How can we explain this? The PQ's ability to pose itself as a nationalist party combined with the masses' profound nationalist sentiment makes for an enormous confusion of the bourgeois character of the P.Q. It also helps to maintain the illusion that the P.Q. can be won over to socialism, a position held for example by *(the labor daily) Quebec Presse*. The task of revolutionaries is not to denounce the nationalist sentiment of the masses, to tell then that nationalist struggles are a diversion. Rather, we must strive to channel this nationalist sentiment against the capitalist governments in Ottawa and Quebec; we must encourage the masses to avoid the dead-end strategies of parliamentarism and electoralism as the roads to liberation. The masses learn through their own experiences to depend only on their own power organized and mobilized in the streets, independent of all bourgeois parties.

(Former FLQ militant Pierre) Vallière's denunciation of the FLQ and its terrorist strategy and his option for the P.Q, as the only alternative for the national liberation struggle can only reinforce illusions in the P.Q. We cannot explain this act of Vallières simply by saying that opportunism is the other side of the coin of ultra-leftism. This is quite true, but Vallière's action also demonstrates the centrality of the nationalist question for the Québécois masses today.

In spite of a certain reinforcement of illusions in the PO, the events this fall, the documents in favour of socialism by the trade union federations, Vallière's declarations have created a lot of interest in socialist ideas and the question of strategy for national liberation. This provides us with interesting possibilities to advance our ideas in the student milieu.

This fall, there were no generalized major student struggles in Quebec. There were a few student actions here and there – a student strike by several faculties at the University of Laval on the question of democratization and exam policy. A parallel department was launched by the students in social work at the University of Sherbrooke as a means of' protesting exam policy. At the University of Quebec in Montreal, where we intervened, attempts were made to organize students around the professors' strike. One of our comrades was involved in the leadership of a struggle against the system of school absences at the Pie IX secondary school. A false bomb in the school provided the administration with the pretext to call the police and have our comrade arrested along with two other students. They were interrogated by police for an entire afternoon. The LJS responded with a leaflet explaining to the students what had happened. The following week there was an occupation of the cafeteria to demand the right to be absent from class without the threat of expulsion or suspension. The administration had to call the police to end the occupation. We have already mentioned the election campaigns carried out by the Hull comrades at the secondary school and the CEGEP *(junior college)*. We also saw an attempt to launch a CEGEP united front to support the QFL—CNTU—CEQ united front *(of union*

federations), but this fell through given the lack of any concrete demands around which either workers or students could be mobilized. But all these actions were of a limited and modest character. In fact, the only student actions this fall which had a generalized and significant character were those around the issue of a French Quebec.

More than 10,000 students participated in the Oct. 15 teach-ins organized by the United Front to Defend the French Language. In spite of our limited forces the concept of utilizing schools as organizing centers for the struggle to defend the French language was taken up by students in a number of secondary schools and CEGEPS in Montreal, Sorel and Trois-Rivières. During this period the French universities in Montreal were on strike. In the week following the l6th, students from several secondary schools continued to walk-out to protest the trials of *(l'École)* St- Léonard patriots, Raymond Lemieux, Reggie Chartrand and others for sedition because of their actions in the St. Leonard school board *(unilingualist)* language struggle. In spite of severe repression by the school administration, police and some parents, at least 40 students would turn up each day during the week to picket at the courthouse. We also have the example in Hull, where about three weeks ago the students of the CEGEP had a mass assembly of 700 to discuss what to do about the growing anglicisation of the CEGEP.

Although we have not succeeded in establishing permanent language committees in the CEGEPS and secondary schools, we have made a number of contacts which will facilitate this task in the future. In general we can say that the crisis of the student movement in Quebec remains in its state of total disorganization, and the inability of politicized elements to grasp the relationship between the national struggle and economic struggles. I think comrades are aware of the fact that in all the francophone universities, there are no organizations similar to student councils in the universities of English-Canada. Today we find a good number of what we could call the old new left in “Political Action Committees,” where they combine social service-type activity with discussions (sufficiently abstract) on Marxism.

These 'PACs' resemble somewhat the SDUs which existed in English Canada. They have their origins in the citizen's committees and the formation of FRAP in 1970. The degeneration of FRAP, with which a number of these 'PACs' were associated led to their degeneration also. They tend to have a centrist character, without a clear political program which means that they organize only on the basis of a generalized sentiment. We also have to say that these 'CAPS' *(French for 'PACs' – ed.)* are not involved in mass action work, although there are some exceptions. Our general orientation to the 'CAPs' should be to push then to become involved in real political actions, that is, in the mass movements which are now developing and to explain to them that the LJS is the organization that has to be built to lead the student movement. They have no perspective or program that can succeed in leading the student movement. We also want to push them to get involved in the united fronts we're building on the campus, above all the United Front for the Defense of the French Language and for the repeal of the abortion laws.

I want to speak here about our other adversaries in Quebec and their political positions. Above all about their positions on the language question because what we saw this fall was that it was this question which crystallized the political debate and made it a concrete question for all movements.

First of all the Maoists, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), who distinguished themselves by their ferocious attack on the United Front for the Defense of the French Language and the struggle for a French Quebec. They said that the language struggle divided the working class and that it was a racist struggle. I think comrades have read our answer to that attack in the *Young Socialist.* We have to say that the Maoists, by their extreme ultraleftism have somewhat discredited themselves. We saw on October 16th that their objective role was to break up the demonstrations. Because of the crisis of international Maoism and their sterile demagogy they are seriously cut off from the radicalization in Quebec.

The Workers League, the Healyites, have only a handful of people, English-*(speakers),* who are active at McGill and Sir George. In spite of their limited presence it is important to answer then as well. They also attack the language campaign in Quebec, saying that it divides the working class and that it is not the key struggle of the labor movement; and they are against independence. We have to answer them because they call themselves Trotskyists to justify these positions.

The Canadian Party of Labor has only a few members now in Montreal and is doing almost no work on the campuses except to invite students to picket with the workers when there is a strike. They haven't taken an open position against the United Front and the struggle for a French Quebec but their general position is anti-nationalist and against the national movement in Quebec.

This fall we even met a tendency among several members of the executive of the Central Council of the CNTU *(the Quebec-based trade union federation)* who were opposed to the demonstration tor a French Quebec on the 16th. They said that the language struggle has been by-passed and that now we have to advance a more anti-imperialist strategy. Fortunately, the majority of the Central Council rejected this and reaffirmed the position of the CNTU for a French Quebec, and they reaffirmed the support of the Central Council for the demonstration on the 16th.

Language campaign

I will now turn to the question of why the campaign for a French Quebec is a priority for the LJS. It must be said that it is not us who have invented the language issue in Quebec. It is the contradictions of capitalism in Quebec which have made this issue so explosive and threatening today for the ruling class in Quebec. Language struggles in Quebec are going to continue and to intensify no matter what we think. We can see what opened with bill 28 (concerning the restructuring of School Boards on the Island of Montreal). Because of the language issue raised by this bill, the Bourassa government, which had promised to pass this bill no matter what, was forced to pull back on it. Also, the fact that the PQ is attempting to launch a so-called campaign against bill 63 is another indication of the centrality of the language issue to Quebec politics. The question for us is: Why is the language campaign the major priority for the LJS at this time?

First, the revolutionary potential of the struggle against the linguistic oppression can be negated if we leave the leadership of this movement to the reformist elements such as the PQ. One of the results of the campaign for a French Quebec this fall was that we forced the PQ to

launch a campaign along with the trade unions against bill 63. The PQ does not want to mobilize the masses in the streets. Rather it wants to limit the campaign to an electoral arena, with perhaps a few big assemblies and some demagoguery about doing something. Also the PQ's opposition to French unilingualism prevents the PQ from putting forward a real solution to the linguistic oppression of the Québécois. But the masses, in spite of their illusions in the PQ are ready to struggle in the streets and to challenge the PQ's program (reformist) on the language issue. If' we recall the last PQ convention it was precisely on the language issue that the most serious opposition to the PQ's program was expressed. It is the responsibility of the Trotskyists to fight the false positions of the PQ and to provide the movement for a French Quebec with a revolutionary perspective. Nobody else can or will do it.

Secondly, the movement for a French Quebec is perhaps the best way at the present the to link the student movement with the worker's movement, This fall we saw an important degree of participation by workers and trade-union militants in the meetings of the United Front To Defend the French Language. For example at the first meeting of the United Front, the majority of the 100 or so who attended were trade-unionists. In fact the problem was a shortage of students. But on a more general plane, the mass actions organized by the Movement for a French Quebec provides the opportunity to unite workers (who have a strong interest in struggling against the anglicization process). Also, the movement for a French Quebec, through its mass actions, its continuity and its independence from the bourgeois parties can serve as a model to the worker's and student's movements for organizing on other issues. With the instrument of the United Front, we have the possibility of reaching and mobilizing a large number of people, which we could not do by ourselves. In a United Front which is non-exclusive and democratic we are sufficiently confident of our ideas that we are not afraid to encourage the participation of anyone, even René Lévesque, if he was in agreement with the political basis of the United Front. This would permit us not only to enlarge the base of the United Front, but it would also provide us with precious opportunities to expose in a concrete manner the PQ.

A positive result of the campaign for a French Quebec this fall was the number of contacts we established and the three new comrades (francophones) we recruited. Also the experience of the comrades in the campaign; the leading role of several of our comrades in the mass movement and our deeper penetration into the nationalist movement are important gains for the LJS. For example, at the annual commemoration of the patriots at St. Denis, the organizers invited comrade Alain Beiner to speak along with other leaders of the nationalist movement, Michel Chartrand, Raymond Lemieux and others. As we can see, building the LJS in Quebec is integrally linked with the movement for a French Quebec. Perhaps the best example of this, is the Hull local which developed out of a language struggle at the secondary school St. Jean Baptiste. Its significant evolution since that time illustrates the viability of the language movement for the building of the LJ.S.

Our perspective for this coming winter is to continue to build the language campaign with the focus probably around the repeal of Bill 63. We want to reestablish French Quebec committees in the secondary schools, where students were active for the October 16 demonstration. Also, we want to launch committees in as many CEGEPS and campuses as possible. This fall we found that it was especially secondary school students and young workers who responded most enthusiastically to the campaign. It is they who are most directly affected by the linguistic

oppression. The students in the French CEGEPS and universities are not affected as directly. This winter we want to formulate demands which link the particular problems of the students in the CEGEPS and universities with the linguistic oppression of the Québécois nation. An example would be the anglicization of the school system on the island of Montreal. There are 300 less jobs for teachers in the French sector than there were in 1970 because of the effects of Bill 63. Also most of technical and scientific textbooks used in the universities and CEGEPs are in English. To set ahead the francophone student must anglicise himself or at least learn English.

We are going to build the conference of the United Front to Defend the French Language for January 30. At this conference we intend to launch an action for the repeal of Bill 63 around the middle of March. The possibilities for such an action are very good. There is a possibility that the government may yield on Bill 63. It is clear that this would be an important victory for the Québécois masses.

Defense work in English Canada

I would now like to say something about Quebec defense work in English Canada. Our defence work began in earnest last spring with the Michel Chartrand tour and the formation of defence committees across Canada for the defence of political prisoners. Since the major victories against repression and the Quebec government, our support for the Quebec struggle has been concentrated in the Commission of Enquiry into the War Measures Act. This Commission organized hearings in major Canadian cities including Montreal. Our movement put a limited amount of forces into the Commission given the important support it received from trade-union organizations, the NDP and other groups such as the Communist Party. Given the limited Trotskyist forces, the movement does not control the politics of the Commission, although we do have a considerable influence on its leadership. We have put forward the movement, the LJS/YS, through the participation of Linda Meissenheimer as one of the commissioners and through the briefs we presented to the Commission. The most successful hearings were held in Montreal where all the important organizations, including the trade unions and the Parti Québécois, presented briefs. There was financial support from several unions and student councils. The Commission received briefs from several hundred groups. For the future, the Commission will wind up its work with a session in Ottawa and four days in Montreal. The result will be published in two editions in English and French.

We do not plan to build defence committees such as we did during the War Measures Act, but we must seize every opportunity to put forward our politics on Quebec. One way of doing this is through teach-ins that may be organized by student councils, for example as was the case in Winnipeg. We would want of see speakers from the United Front to Defend the French Language and if possible our movement invited. We want of take advantage of all the possibilities to write articles for the student press on the campaigns we are building in Quebec. After our important experiences this past spring, we are ready to act when necessary to defend the nationalist and linguistic movement. We would also like to see a tour of some nationalist leaders this spring. Finally, *Young Soclalist. Labor Challenge,* and *Libération* are the best defenders of the nationalist movement In Quebec. *Labor Challenge* has decided to print and translate important documents coming out of Quebec. These articles will help make our Quebec defence work

through student elections or other ways more effective.

In conclusion, our work in English Canada is propagandistic for the moment but the mechanisms, the contacts and the political understanding exist so that when it comes time to activate support for the Quebec movement, we will be up to it.

Growth of the LJS

One of the major accomplishments of the LJS is the consolidation and growth of the Hull local, At the National Conference, December 11 and12, the local recruited 3 new comrades and hopes to recruit three more in the near future. The Hull comrades participated in student elections this fall. Our national Conference, in spite of the dates, the 11 and 12 of December, attracted 175 people. The conference furnished the opportunity to educate the members and contacts of our movement, and to consolidate contacts and sympathizers from outside of Montreal.

In this report we have attempted to analyze the major events in Quebec this fall and within the framework of our political line adopted at the last Convention to clarify our perspectives for the movement this winter. We have attempted to explain the political role of the language movement in the present conjuncture, and its importance for the construction of our own movement. We are going to be ready to intervene in other important struggles which could develop in the coming period. If the negotiations in the public sector between the union movement and the government give rise to a general strike or other forms of general mobilizations we will intervene with the LSO as we did during the events of the 29th of October. We were the only movement which was able to put out a paper on the events for the rally on the 2nd of November and to put forward a concrete strategy which could take the struggle forward. At the rally we sold over 1,500 issues of the supplement.

We have come a long way in the process of building a leadership for the LJS in Montreal and in building a national leadership formalized by the functioning of a National Council, which includes not only the leading comrades from Montreal but also takes in Hull. The addition of Colleen as full time organizer for the LJS strengthens our possibilities for building the LJS. We now have two full time comrades who are involved in LJS activities on both the Montreal and Quebec- wide level. Now, we can begin in a more serious way especially through our campaign for a French Quebec to implant ourselves on the campuses, CEGEPS and secondary schools in Quebec to make the LJS the leadership of the Quebec student movement.

(end)

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Executive Council Plenum Reports

This bulletin contains the reports adopted by the December 1971 plenary meeting of the Executive Council of the YS/LJS which together represent the political direction of the YS/LJS. *(The EC resident in Toronto, Canada –ed.)*

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

In this plenum of the executive council of the YS/LJS *(Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes)* we have covered a lot of ground. We've discussed the world crisis of imperialism — we've discussed how it has generated the new radicalization and how that radicalization expresses itself in the varied growing movements of the oppressed against the system. We have had a full discussion of those movements — of how we can build them and lead them.

The purpose of this report is to pull it all together and talk about our most important task — building the YS/LJS — winning hegemony among students —recruiting and training the radicalizing youth to become the cadre that are so crucial in making the socialist revolution.

The first point I'd like to take up is the relationship between the YS/LJS and the mass movements.

Unlike the sectarians who counterpose their own grouplets to the mass movements we see building the YS/LJS and building the mass movements as complementary not contradictory.

We fully support the goals and demands of these movements and we know that every victory they win is a victory for revolutionists, because it is a blow struck against the capitalist system. In a very direct sense as well we can build the YS/LJS by building the mass movements because as these movements develop and involve more people in struggle, those people radicalize further and further. As they work in the mass movements, they will begin to be open to socialist answers. Many of them go on to join the YS/LJS.

One of the reasons many join us rather than some other radical tendency is because they see in practice that we are the most active and consistent builders of the different campaigns.

Experience shows that we get most of our recruits out of deep involvement in the mass movements. Since the last plenum the anti-war movement and the WL *(women's liberation –ed.)* movement have been our highest area of recruits.

The other side of the relationship between the YS/LJS and the mass movements is that the expansion and size and influence of the YS/LJS is a vital factor in the success of these movements.

We say that we, the revolutionary socialists can provide the best leadership for these movements, not out of arrogance or any messianic complex, but because we know that in our

program and analysis lies the only correct understanding of the contradictions of capitalism that created these movements. Our program embodies decades of experience of the socialist and labor movements all over the world and enables us to develop strategies for building these movements so that they avoid the mistakes of the past.

When you look at our central goal of overturning capitalism in Canada, Quebec and around the world you can really see why building the YS/LJS is so important. History is full of examples of revolutionary or pre-revolutionary situations that were stifled, defeated, or betrayed because of incorrect leadership — because the revolutionary socialists were not strong enough to take the leadership.

Leading the working class in a successful socialist revolution will require a mass revolutionary party. The YS/LJS does not aspire to become that party. We think that the nucleus of the revolutionary party already exists, and that it is the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. We are in political agreement with the LSO/LSA and we support and help to build it. We are part of a common movement.

At the same time we see that the current radicalization is deepest among the youth and especially students. It is from this layer that all the movements generated by the radicalization so far have drawn their leaders and their best activists. These radicalizing youth are ripe to be won to the side of the socialist revolution – and that is the task of the YS/LJS.

The YS/LJS can attract thousands of young militants who have not yet fully worked out their political beliefs and who are not yet committed to a perspective of becoming lifetime revolutionists, but who are serious about wanting to change the world. In the YS/LJS these militants can gain experience and training to become professional revolutionists.

In order to carry out its tasks the YS/LJS must have several important characteristics. First is programmatic clarity. We are not just united in that we all want socialism – we have a common assessment of how to bring if about. Our transitional program is a program for action.

The nature of' our organization is based on that program. We are a bi-national organization, with members in both Quebec and English Canada because we know that the task is to overthrow the Canadian Capitalist state that oppresses the majority of both nations. We are a democratic centralist organization. In order to be an effective fighting force we know we have to be centralized in action. We also know we must be fully democratic in policy making. The correct politics of our movement are the result of the fact that our membership has always worked them out in the most conscious, democratic way. Every member has this responsibility. We are not an organization of hand raisers, but of leaders.

Our understanding of the importance of leadership for the student movement is carried into our movement. Our concept of leadership is that of the leadership team. In a leadership team the strengths and weaknesses of individuals are balanced against each other so that the team as a whole is much stronger than the sum of its individuals. All our members should be developing an understanding of all our areas.

This concept of leadership holds true from the Executive Council to the executive committee of a local of 5 members. All locals even the newest and smallest should aim toward developing such a functioning leadership team.

So far this report has reviewed some basic concepts about the nature and goals of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialists. What the Central Executive Council is proposing and what will be laid out concretely in the report is a mammoth winter and spring offensive to build the YS/LJS. The first section of the rest of the report will take up the challenge of bringing radicalizing youth across the country into our movement. The second section will discuss how can we become more of the type of cadre movement we must be to consolidate our gains and expand our influence and organization to win hegemony among youth in Canada and Quebec.

Recruitment

Building the YS/LJS above all means recruitment. Recruiting radicalizing youth to the revolutionary socialist youth movement, and educating them in our ideas is our most important task.

We have a very open recruitment policy. People join our movement on the basis of agreement with our program and agreement to work to put the program into practice. That does not mean that new members must be familiar with all the details of our program before they join. Rather, if someone is around-the YS/LJS, reads some of the basic statements of our program and agrees with what she or he read, then we want that person in our movement.

The idea sometimes arises that we should tighten up on recruitment —- that we should not be quite as open as we have tried to be in taking new people … and this would therefore reduce the turnover rate.

Certain organizational steps flow naturally from this attitude — such as having prospective members complete a reading program and also go through a lengthy political experience with us. Such steps move in the direction of making the YS/LJS more like the LSA/LSO and of making membership criterion the same.

But this just the opposite of the direction in which we want to be heading. The YS/LJS does not aspire to be a vanguard party — neither is it a junior version of the party. We aim to recruit thousands of young people who have begun to radicalize and are willing to participate in revolutionary political action. We are not out to recruit only tested Bolsheviks.

It is clear there will always be a fairly high turnover in membership in our movement. While we try and keep this turnover to a minimum we realize that it has always been and will always be a feature of our recruitment. The key to holding new recruits is to integrate them into the functioning of the YS/LJS and educate them in our politics. This is best accomplished once we have them **inside** our movement — attending local meetings, participating in fractions, coming to classes and so on.

We are confident that by taking a very open attitude toward recruitment and at the same time working to develop politically all YS/LJS comrades we will be able to recruit **and hold** many more new members than if we tried to screen out everyone who might not stay with us, before they joined.

From looking at the forms turned in by the organizers of the locals we can see that our most important area of recruitment is the mass movements. The biggest area of recruitment this fall has been from the anti-war movement, followed closely by the women's liberation movement. Next is the Quebec nationalist movement. But the forms have also show that many new comrades have come to us directly through literature tables, sales and YS classes and forums.

But the most important thing that the figures show is that we haven't been recruiting radicalizing youth in proportion to the potential that exists for us. That we must do is bring our recruitment figures in line with the possibilities. To do that we have to see recruiting new members as a priority in all the work that do. Like getting more subscriptions, more money, or anything; getting more revolutionists takes organization and time. There is nothing more important, nothing more deserving of our energy than recruiting more members. Usually members do not fall info our organization, they have to be convinced to join. They all demand individual attention.

Sometimes the responsibility to build the mass movements overwhelms comrades and they forget to put the necessary effort into recruitment. They think that after we get the campaign "off the ground" then they can emphasize recruitment. But that is the best tine to recruit — in the middle of the mass campaigns!

Sometimes comrades are hesitant to emphasize the Young Socialists when just beginning to build a movement like, say, the abortion movement. They feel that as the mass movements become bigger and include more forces we will be able to project ourselves and our ideas more openly because then we will be less likely to be red-baited.

However, experience has shown that the opposite is the case. As the mass movements grow and as our leadership over the student wing of these movements increases, red-baiting is prone to increase.

For example, as soon as we had led tens of thousands of students into the streets Nov. 3, there was suddenly an outpouring of red-baiting across the country. *Guerilla, Georgia Straight* and several campus papers made lengthy attacks on our movement. The same thing happened in Quebec after the demonstration of 8,000 for unilingualism. And as the mass movements and our leadership continues to expand, other left tendencies, frustrated by their irrelevance, will increase their attacks on us.

Also, as new forces are brought into the mass movements, the tendency for red-baiting and also the pressure on our movement to adapt and to tone down our open face will increase.

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It is essential that we do not adapt to these pressures. We are proud to let everyone know that the student leaders of the women's liberation movement, the anti-war movement, the French

language movement in Quebec and so on, are the revolutionary socialists. We want every activist to read our press. We want to encourage them to come to our activities. We want them to join the YS/LJS.

Another thing we've learned about recruiting from the mass movements is that the people who join the YS/LJS are not usually recruited directly from the big demonstrations. We recruit people who we worked with over a period of time in **building** the demonstrations. The ones we made picket signs with, the ones we distributed leaflets on the campus with, the ones who helped us with the press conferences before the demonstration.

This emphasizes the importance of building the mass movements in a **continuous** way: of endeavoring more consciously to draw activists into the **building** of the movement on a continuing basis; and of working closely with them to explain how the particular forms of oppression they are fighting fits into the oppression of humankind under capitalism aid what the ultimate solution is.

For example, in many areas if we had built the student anti-war movement more continuously and involved contacts in preparation for Nov. 3 and 6 demonstrations, especially in the early stages of the Amchitka struggle, we could have translated much more of the success of the demonstrations into recruits to our movement.

On the campus and in the high schools we don't recruit by just talking to contacts about our politics. We recruit through conflict. We recruit by clarifying political issues in debate — by challenging those who disagree. We recruit by taking on our opponents.

We know that we have the correct program for change, and we will recruit many radicalizing youth by proving it.

It's a big challenge and its a challenge we're up to — to return to the campuses and high schools and take on the whole raft of assorted opponents from right-wingers to reformist student hacks to sectarian wafflers and ultralefts waving their little red books.

Campus base

Over the past period we've really learned that an essential part of recruiting and building our movement is the establishment of a solid campus base. And really the success, growth and even survival of a local can be measured by how strongly it is rooted on the campus.

We are a student movement because we see that the key area of the youth radicalization is the student milieu. And the campus is key to the student milieu.

Our orientation to the campus is key to our growth. When the YS/LJS is embedded in the campus it is seen by students as part of their milieu. It makes us much more approachable, more relevant, more of a going concern to students. On the other hand it affects our intervention on the campus. We can develop a real feel for campus politics and by building a strong campus base; our intervention in the mass movements will more easily be the effective building of the militant

student wings of these movements.

Across the country, experience has shown that if a local is embedded in the campus it flourishes, If not it stagnates.

There are several organizational steps that can facilitate this orientation.

First is the campus local. Campus locals have been highly successful to date. The key to growth is the campus and having a whole local on the campus is a most effective organizational step to ensure a campus base.

With some existing campus locals, the question has arisen about open local meetings. In some eases locals held advertized local meetings and had assorted people including opponents attending them. However, it is essential that local meetings be membership meetings, and that only invited contacts be seated. We must have control over the attendance at internal meetings of our movement.

A good formula adopted by two campus locals is that they have one local meeting per month in which anyone interested in learning more about the YS/LJS can attend. These meetings are advertized and have a special educational geared towards contacts as well as reports that have a basic educational character.

A second organizational step to embed a local on campus that has been highly successful is the YS club. Although the word "club" may have bad connotations with radical youth in some areas (and in the most cases they aren't named clubs), the concept of an on campus YS vehicle that is completely open to anyone interested in socialism, has proven to be extremely valuable in embedding ourselves on campus, developing an on-going periphery and recruiting to the YS/LJS. This fall several locals have had excellent experiences with YS clubs or open campus fractions. Ottawa and Vancouver both have used clubs effectively to gather a periphery.

The YS club gives contacts who do not meet the requirements of membership in the YS/LJS (commitment, familiarization with our politics, regular attendance, etc.) an opportunity to become active and learn in an organization (club) which they can feel part of. One comrade noted that "the members of the YS club feel its their club. It's less like they're a contact of someone else's group."

The club meetings can be posed as broad public gatherings with featured speakers, from which we can contact many interested students and bring them towards recruitment. Also we want to bring people who come out to club meetings into the different movements on campus. We not only want to talk to them about capitalism and socialism; we want to show them how socialists build the struggle against capitalism.

The club can vote to participate as a group in activities on campus. They must be activist groups. Here it is important to prepare and plan club meetings.

It is important that a club be a vehicle to recruiting and that it not become a block to

recruiting. We have to work closely with people who come around the club and encourage them to join the YS/LJS,

Becoming routine with a YS club has the same effects as becoming routine with recruiting in any other area of activity. We can't take contacts for granted. Recruiting effectively requires highly organized and conscious effort. People are attracted to the YS/LJS. Students will simply walk up to a lit table and ask to join. But what this shows is the excellent potential for recruitment that is consciously and systematically organized.

Open campus fractions are also an effective organizational step to facilitate campus roots and recruitment and can function the same as a club: holding planned, well organized public meetings, building big meetings with featured speakers, and involving contacts in activity and an educational process.

So, our movement must be embedded on the campus if it is to grow in proportion to the potential that exists. Campus locals, and YS clubs or open fractions are the most effective organizational devices that have been used to achieve a campus base, a student periphery, and steady recruitment, and we want to move in this direction.

Student elections

The big campaign that will concretize, and translate our understanding of recruitment into big gains will be the spring student elections.

We recruit through rooting our movement in the student arena; we recruit by clarifying political issues and by challenging opponents with revolutionary socialism; we recruit by projecting ourselves in the mass movements. And our student election campaigns will be the project in the next few months that will enable us to do all of these.

The election campaigns will serve as platforms to build the mass movements, because our campaigns are interrelated with and complementary to all our activity. Every election campaign is an anti-war campaign; a women's liberation campaign; a student-faculty control campaign. We should draw activists from all the movements into our campaign.

Through our campaigns we'll be able to clarify political issues and draw students to our perspectives by directly counterposing our ideas, programs and activities to those of reformist student types as well as to uItralefts. The campaigns will force them to confront us politically — which means bringing the YS/LJS a step closer to hegemony on campus, as well as enabling us to recruit directly from the campaigns and to set the ground work for future recruitment.

The campaigns will not only make a quantitative change in the locals with recruits — but a qualitative change as well. Comrades will gain experience in speaking and in explaining and defending our program in public.

Our campaigns should take the campuses and H.S. *(high schools –ed.)* by storm, transforming the irrelevant, apolitical election days that students have been subjected to into political

experiences where other candidates will be forced to respond to our ideas.

The campaigns can be built very effectively. Our candidates can speak to departmental, cultural and political organizations in dorms, sor*(sororities --ed.)* frats, classrooms, cafeterias and so on. We should seek endorsement from every possible source. U of T. has already moved on forming support groups in each faculty; architecture for a YS student government. Made for the YS and so on. We should do mass distributions, hold public meetings, debates, hold campaign meetings that bring in campus activists geared towards recruitment; utilize the campus press, research and expose the Board of Governors or war research on the campus and so on.

We will be running on our program and centering around issues of student-faculty control, the war in S.E. Asia and campus complicity — especially war research, and on women's liberation and abortion.

The campaigns should be financially self-supporting. There is no reason why we cannot break even or even make money on student election campaigns. We can approach professors, students and organizations that are sympathetic with any part of the program we are running on for funds. As well, student councils should be pressed heavily to give large allotments to all candidates.

As we saw last year, we can actually win some elections. We run to win, but winning is not the main reason we run. The criteria we use for gauging success of our campaigns are whether of not we have publicized our name and program to the widest audience possible and whether or not we have brought any of these people closer to our perspectives.

The possibility of winning poses several considerations. First, because our candidates may win, it is important that the person we choose to run for elections be someone who can take up the position, and who can benefit from the experience. Also we've learned a number of lessons from having comrades in office. The entire local must move in behind the elected comrade. There is always strong pressure in such a situation for a comrade to get drawn into the bureaucratic student apparatus and get tied up in petty administrative hassles and to lose touch with the local and to lose perspective.

The most striking lesson is an underlining of the importance of putting our program into operation. The elected positions must be used as tools to build the mass movements and the YS/LJS. **We want to use the resources of the student councils to mobilize the campus into struggle;** to challenge students to struggle for control of their university; to advance the campus struggle as part of our red-university strategy. If the students fail to respond, or respond in a hostile way and we lose our elected positions — fine and well.

We welcome such events as an opportunity to do more intense propaganda and to reach even broader layers of students with our politics. The student council at SFU *(Simon Fraser U. in Burnaby, BC)* was recently impeached in a move by a coalition of ultralefts and ultra-rights. This means we have an opportunity to stir up the campus a little deeper with another campaign and perhaps to build a more profound student mandate. The first campaign to come up will be SFU and it will be a campaign to set the tone — an aggressive, fighting, take'em on, shake'em up campaign.

High schools

High School campaigns can be carried out in a similar fashion to campus campaigns, and as we've seen (esp. West Kildonan) can have a big effect and be very important in mobilizing students.

This report has discussed the ways our movement recruits, and outlined the steps to enable us to recruit more rapidly than we have in the past period — that is, embedding our movement in schools across the country and running well-planned aggressive student election campaigns.

Education

The next section will discuss the consolidation of our gains and the means whereby we can professionalize our movement into the type of operation that is necessary to become the leadership of the student movement in Canada and Quebec.

The process of recruiting is a process of educating youth in our ideas and analysis. That process really just begins when they join the YS/LJS. And we've seen that if now members aren't quickly schooled in Marxlsm we lose them. Just as recruiting has to be a highly conscious, deliberate and systematic process, so education must be. Every local needs an organized, well-rounded educational program that meets the needs of developing cadre.

Waterloo *(the large YS/LJS youth conference at Waterloo U. – ed.)* showed us that we can educate our movement in a way that can be very attractive to contacts. Toronto is in the middle of a very successful and lively series of introductory classes that are attended by comrades and contacts. Each week several leading comrades work out how the discussion period can be used to draw out the participation of everyone and to hit on the main issues. In Saskatoon comrades carried a series of classes on Marxism during the big fall campaigns, bringing activists into a situation where they could see their struggles in historical perspective.

YS/LJS educational activities should be geared to campus and can include classes, socialist student conferences, forums on topics of student concern and so on.

Finances

This fall we have made big advances in professionalizing our movement and setting the groundwork for a firm bi-national consolidation with the sub *(YS subscription)* drive success and the pending victory of the fund drive. With a victory in the most ambitious sub drive to date we set ourselves a solid base of radicalizing students across the country. On U. of T., a campus that has never had any large readership of our press, comrades sold 235 subscriptions.

The fund drive is of equal significance. A victory in the fund drive will set the basis for us to carry out the bold political projections we have made. As well it shows the potential we have to professionalize our finances and establish a sound financial base.

A revolution has to be financed. And backing our struggle financially is one of our primary political tasks.

Our view of finances flows from our view of politics. Our goal of socialism, our seriousness about struggling for it, the importance of leadership and of building the vanguard party, and our mass action strategy – all determine how we must operate financially. They determine our seriousness about finances and our insistence on professionalism throughout our whole financial structure. If we were ultraleftist — seeing shortcuts to the revolution — we would see shortcuts here too. That's why we raise our funds primarily from ourselves. In this we are unique. No other youth organization, left, right or center, has a history of paying its own way. This is one of the key ways we maintain our political independence.

The most dominant characteristic of our financial structure is its democratic character. Whoever pays the printer calls the tune: and we all pay the printer. Our membership discusses, decides and then collectively carries out the decision. We can't just make wild and wonderful projections without making sure that they are realizable.

Our seriousness about finances and the democratic character of our finances has shown its strength in the fund drive. So far the fund drive has been a great success. The original ambitious quota was enlarged from 7,200 to 7,900 dollars by the seriousness and enthusiasm of comrades across the country. However, because of the other big fall campaigns the fund drive was set to end at a bad time, when the campus and schools are closed. As a result, although the internal part of the drive has been largely completed, the external component has suffered. And, of course, the necessary last few weeks1 push has been limited. As a result of these difficulties the fund drive is now only 70% complete, with just over $5,000 in.

Because a victory in this drive is absolutely essential to our movement in the coming period, and because we know that we can make and exceed the quota, the CEC is proposing an extension of the drive until Jan. 15. This means that the task of all locals in the next two weeks is to go over the top.

A victory in the fund drive will mean that the bi-national movement will be on a solid financial footing. It will mean we can put another person on staff in the central office; it will mean we can allocate resources to National Organizing in Quebec and to prairie organizing. However, although the fund drive will establish a solid basis for our bi-national finances the challenge to build a solid financial operation in all the locals is still present.

The fund drive was the key first step in professionalizing all of our financial work. It is now necessary to move on to other key areas of our finances; the debts that locals have to the center (to *Labor Challenge Young Socialist,* Crescent, D&P) *(member's Dues & Pledges)* and the financial operations in the locals.

That means several things. It means firming up local incomes and keeping a good set of financial books and records. Most important it means that the local leadership, the executive, must oversee and take responsibility for finances. The leadership has got to lead, especially in

such a crucial area as finances. The executive should review the finances regularly, spot any problems and take measures to see that they are corrected. The fund drive has shown the tremendous opportunities for raising money, both through our movement and through contacts. The local leadership must take advantage of these opportunities to give the locals a firm financial base.

Most areas are in fairly good shape with D & P. Locals should pay their dues and pledges at the beginning of every month, as a priority, even before beginning to pay off back debts. Before leaving Toronto, locals should make arrangement with the C.O. financial director Richard Thompson to pay off their back debts.

The biggest weakness in our whole financial operation is the *(journal)* bundle arrears accumulated by locals. A number of locals are seriously in arrears in their bundle payments. This problem was discussed at the last plenum; and hasn't been cleared up. It is a serious situation and reflects an important political problem.

These bundle back debts show two things. They mean that the local leaderships have not organized the effective single sales of our press and that locals do not consider it a responsibility to pay for their bundles. The situation with *Labor Challenge* bundles reflects the same pattern as *YS,* and the same problem.

From the tremendous response to the sub drive it is clear that members of our movement understand the role of our press as the main propagandistic tool and the most effective recruiter at our disposal. But during, and especially after, the sub drive we neglected single sales – which is the major component of the distribution of our press.

Subs and single copies

The sub drive shoved the tremendous opportunities for selling the press, especially on the campuses. The 1,500 joint subs showed that the *Young Socialist* and *Labor Challenge* are complimentary papers and that students want to read both of them. With the deepening radicalization of youth, *Labor Challenge,* with its features on the Waffle, the labor movement, Canada-US relations and international struggle is highly attractive to a growing number of students. The same is true for *Young Socialist* and *Libération.* Our press is becoming a real political force on campus. Our press is reaching out to many more students than we could hope to do as individuals, giving them our whole program over a prolonged period of time. We have given ourselves a taste of our goal — to build the mass circulation revolutionary press in this country. And this is particularly apparent in Quebec, where *Libération* has become one of the major papers of the nationalist movement in Quebec.

Now that the sub drive has been successfully completed we must turn the movement's efforts to the sale of singles (and as many more subs as possible). We don't hold big subscription campaigns once a year and then give second priority to our press the rest of the year. The goal of a mass circulation revolutionary press means that the local leadership must give priority to organizing the sales and finances of the bundles.

Sales of our papers should be organized by a leading comrade in the local and overseen by the executive. There should be sales mobilizations at important political events, regular (literature) table sales as well as regular campus and high school sales.

Locals should use sales charts and sales records fo keep track of progress as well as regular sales reports to the locals. It is very useful to have a separate bank account for sales money so that the sales co-ordinator can be very clear on sales income and bundle payments.

So, in general, we are making big steps forward in establishing a good financial basis for the YS/LJS. The fund drive is showing that we can move effectively to meet the financial needs of the movement. The big challenge that our movement now faces, and which both the fund drive and sub drive show we are prepared to meet, is the bundle payments and the overall professionalization of local finances. This means two things: we must 1) go over the top in the fund drive in the next two weeks and 2) fill the big remaining gap in our finances and in our practice, that is, re-commence to be consistently well organized in the sale of our press.

The fund drive and sub drive have been central to our advances in consolidation, professionalization and expansion of the movement. The other main tool we've used has been our tours and regional organizing programs.

Tours

The geography of Canada presents formidable problems in organizing a democratic-centralist movement. We have always understood that Trotskyist cadre do not develop spontaneously — that the training of revolutionary socialists must be a very conscious process. But in the past there have been problems cementing this process into practice. Because of the limited resources of the movement, the main devices for building collaboration and the central leadership to lead have been circulars and our press. However, as the movement grows and professionalizes this situation is changing.

We have now begun to use tours and regional organizing as major devices of building the movement.

On a cross-country (tour) in the last three months the movement has carried the Jacquie Henderson financial tour; the Sean Kenny-Don Tapscott tour in defense of the Irish Revolution; the lecture tour for Ernest Mandel, and in January we will hold a tour for Tariq Ali in solidarity with Bangla Desh, in conjunction with an organizational tour of Phil Courneyeur. In Quebec Alain Beiner had some tours as National Organizer for the LJS. In S. Ontario there have been numerous tours co-ordinated as part of the regional organizing program. Regional leadership meetings have been held in the Prairies and comrades have done some national and regional tours as spokespeople for the abortion movement, the anti-war movement and the unilingual movement in Quebec.

The two big external tours, Kenny and Mandel, were big movement builders.

Both tours put us on the map; both tours enabled us to expand our periphery and recruit; both illustrated to radicalizing youth that we are in the thick of the struggle; both impressed different sectors of the left with the incorrectness of their positions; both were big fund-raising operations; both reinforced the internationalism of our movement.

The Kenny and Mandel tours, as well as the other tours that have been organized, reflect real growth in our capacity to respond to the radicalization and the key events erupting on the world political scene. Tours are one of the key means at our disposal to orient the whole movement, to gear the movement to mobilize behind our central campaigns and to react quickly to events such as the civil war in Ireland and the Bangla Desh liberation struggle.

The tours helped get 5 campaigns we undertook this fall — the sub drive, fund drive, the anti-war actions, the abortion actions and the demonstration for a French Quebec — off the ground.

In southern Ontario we have been able to initiate a strong base of collaboration with the center. Early in September the CEC *(YS Central Executive Committee)* decided to center regional organizing in S. Ontario, around consolidation of existing locals, rather than expansion into new areas. There has been one complete tour of the region for each campaign, an educational and organizational tour, and also numerous excursions and interactions between Toronto and locals in the region.

Although regional organizing in S. Ontario will continue to focus on consolidation, we now have the basis for establishing several new locals that can develop in close collaboration with Toronto and the regional program.

And although we must concentrate on building, expanding, and developing cadre in existing locals, every area should also be tuned in to the possibilities for regional expansion. Excursions to other towns in an area can be very lucrative, both in expanding our movement and in giving developing cadre inspiring and important experience. We've seen that people in new areas simply write or phone us asking to set up a local.

It is crucial that we don't let opportunities like this pass us by. However a new local is like a new recruit. If we don't educate and consolidate, we lose it. So regional organizing into new areas has to be considered in the context of the resources for consolidation in the area.

It is important to mention here, one step taken by our Montreal local to deal with the problems of translation in local meetings, and to enable comrades to develop politically in their own language. The local has been divided into English and French sections, which hold separate meetings and come together in a joint local meeting every third week to make major decisions and decisions that effect both areas of work.

So far the experience with the two groups has been quite positive.

Central leadership

We realize that the most vital part of building the YS/LJS as a strong, centralized pan-

Canadian organization is the strengthening of the central office and the central leadership. But the center can only be as strong as the resources of the YS/LJS and the resources to staff it will permit.

Over the past year we have made significant gains in developing the leadership of the movement. Across the country a new layer of cadre has developed and several newer comrades have moved on to the CEC. At the last plenum we were able to make the move of sending Joe Young to build the movement in Saskatoon. Now, with the success of the fund drive only weeks away, we are able to add another full-time staffer to the central office.

The area in which the central leadership has been the weakest is in our women's liberation work. With the tremendous challenges before us of building the student wing of the abortion repeal campaign, in which our movement will be the key force, we feel that the best possible addition to the staff at this time would be Linda Blackwood. Linda has played a key role in building the cross-country leadership and she is now available to take on the position in the C.O. We also propose that Linda and Denis Lomas formerly of Winnipeg be added to the Central Executive Council. This is an important move to strengthen the center.

Conclusion

Since the last plenum we have had several important experiences in building our movement. We have completed the most ambitious sub drive successfully and we are nearing completion of our largest fund drive. At the same time we have deepened our roots on the campus and carried the fall campaigns. The success of the fall offensive which we launched at Waterloo and at the last plenum has shown the strength and depth of the movement, its ability to respond to the challenges which continue to open for us as the radicalization deepens, and our ability to consolidate YS/LJS.

Our work in the fall has paved the way for the spring offensive, both building the mass movements and in further expansion of the YS/LJS. The key task is before us in recruiting new members to our movement from whom we can build the Trotskyist cadre who will lead the coming Canadian revolution. Our future, as a revolutionary youth organization, depends on building our student base, especially on the campuses. We must implant ourselves on the campuses and build a periphery of activists from whom we can recruit new forces to the Trotskyist movement. In order to recruit the best activists to our movement we must challenge all our opponents, both those who speak for the ruling class and our opponents on the left and we must spread our ideas and program to the greatest possible number of students through our educational programs, our press on tours and the biggest student election campaigns ever. Finally our new members must be integrated into our movement and educated in the school of Trotskyism.

In order to achieve these goals, to lay the basis for expansion and recruitment, we must professionalize our present operation. The fund drive showed our ability to meet the financial challenges before the movement and it has shown the consciousness of our comrades on the question of finances. Similarly, the sub drive showed the tremendous possibilities for selling our press and the consciousness of comrades of the importance of the press. We must now extend

this to our work in single sales, of both *Labor Challenge* and *YS* and of *Libération.* The professionalization of our work in building the movement requires the constant attention of the leadership, the EC and local executives.

Through the professionalization of our work and by extending our roots on the campuses we will be able to meet the challenges of the spring offensive and win the radicalizing youth to the perspective of the socialist revolution and the ranks of the YS/LJS.

Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

Volume 8

Number 1

40¢

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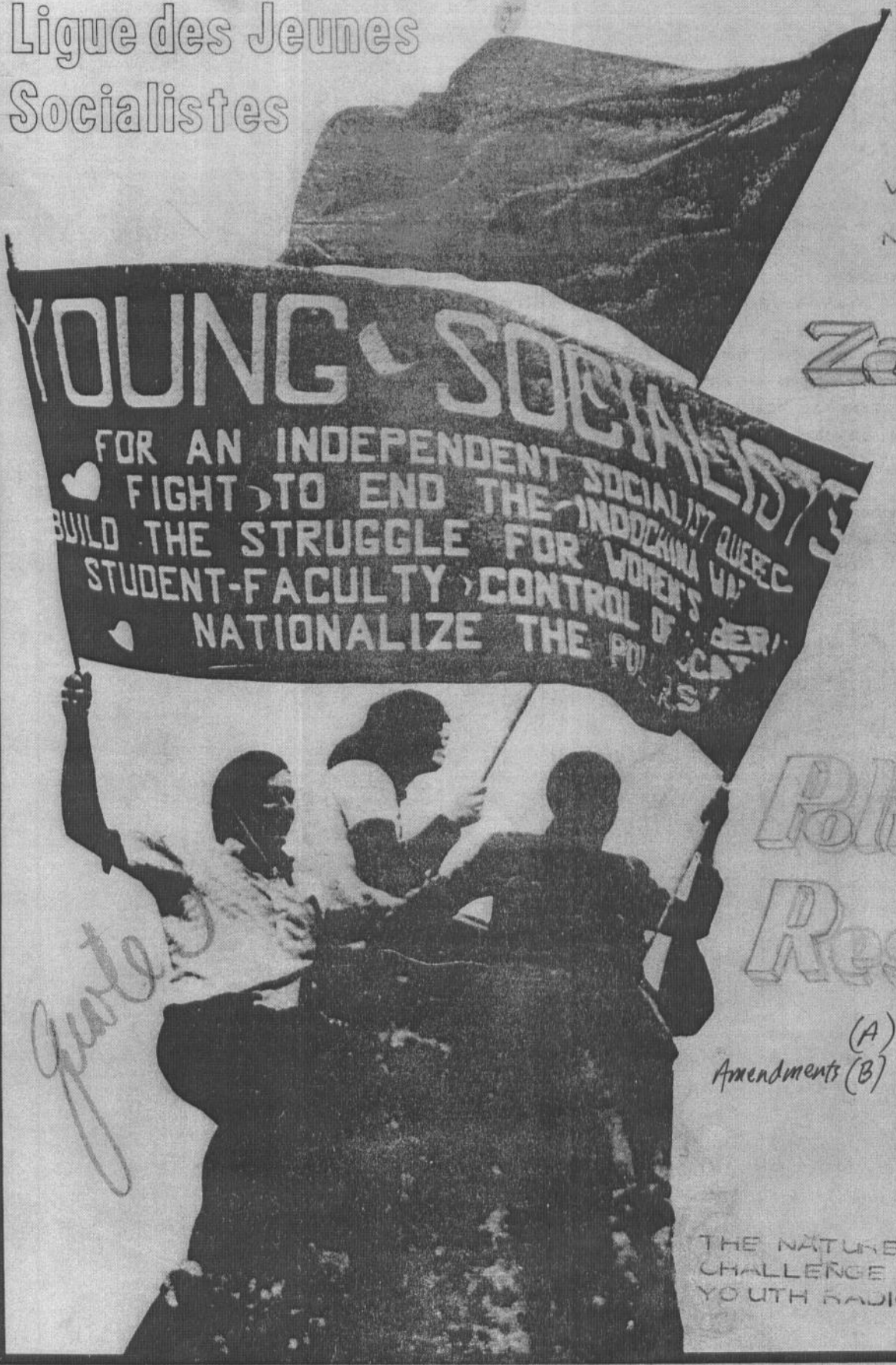

Political Res.

Amendments (A) (19pp)
(B) (8pp)

THE NATURE AND CHALLENGE OF THE YOUTH RADICALIZATION

(b)

This is one of a series of five draft resolutions submitted by the Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes for the 1972 YS/LJS convention to be held at the University of Waterloo, August 26-28.

These resolutions along with other contributions written by members of the YS/LJS from across Canada and Quebec are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young Socialists from across the country are invited to attend the convention. Inquiries can be sent to the YS/LJS Central Office, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ont.

The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International in 1969 noted the emergence across the globe of a new generation of youth who are in the forefront of revolutionary struggles from the battlefields of Vietnam to the barricades of Paris. The Congress set forward as its central task the winning of these youth to the ranks of the world party of socialist revolution.

The worldwide revolt of youth is rooted in the international crisis of imperialism. The new rise of the world revolution has ripped whole sections of the world from the influence of imperialism - China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba - and each day threatens imperialism with revolution in one colonial country after another. The revolutionary struggle in the colonial world, defying the imperialists' efforts to contain it, has been the center of the worldwide youth radicalization.

Vietnam is the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle, the most advanced example of the international struggle of the colonial peoples. It is here that U.S. imperialism has concentrated its military might in an all-out effort to crush the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese that is spreading throughout all Indochina. The aim of the U.S. warmongers is to establish bases against the Chinese workers' state and above all to show all the peoples of the world that it would use all its destructive forces to crush any struggles for self-determination.

Yet after all the bombings, the massacres, the napalm, the U.S. has been unable to score any such demoralizing defeat. The heroic and dogged fight of the Vietnamese has become an inspiration to all the oppressed of the world. It has forced U.S. imperialism to give up its aims of total military victory and an advance on China for the whole next period and to recognize the Chinese workers state in an effort to reach a favorable political settlement.

The Vietnamese freedom fighters have found their most consistent and active allies in the youth of the world. The brutal conflict in Vietnam has awakened a whole generation of youth to the misplaced priorities and destructive nature of capitalism and imperialism. Vietnam has pointed out clearly that the forces for "democracy and the free world" are in fact the forces of oppression and exploitation. ~~U.S. imperialism is being exposed as World Public Enemy Number One and the lines are drawn very clearly between genocide and destruction on the one hand and socialist revolution on the other.~~

Youth have taken the side of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism and in nearly every country of the world have taken to the streets in their defence. Youth have formed the backbone of the international antiwar movement which, second only to the Vietnamese themselves, has been the force restraining the hand of the U.S. ruling class. The conflict in Vietnam, the central conflict between imperialism and socialism, has been the key to the worldwide youth revolt and has given it its anti-capitalist and internationalist character.

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Our generation has come forward in a period of the rise of the world revolution when the oppressed are mobilizing across the globe. Youth have seen not only the necessity for change but also its possibility in the successful struggle of the Cubans and the inspiring example of the Vietnamese. These struggles hold out a promise for the future.

The policy of peaceful co-existence and wretched betrayal of the Stalinists in both Moscow and Peking and the cold war politics of Social Democracy have thoroughly discredited both these tendencies in the eyes of the radicalizing youth. Both have been unable to capture the youth radicalization as it unfolds outside these reformist tendencies and in complete identity with the struggles of the oppressed around the world.

The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes was founded in 1900 in recognition of the potential, and anti-capitalist dynamic of the student radicalization. From its very beginnings in response to the Cuban revolution and the awakening Black nationalist struggle to the continuing response to the Vietnamese revolution we have a rich experience in intervening and leading the revolt of youth in English Canada and Quebec.

"The profound contradictions of capitalism which have generated the youth radicalization on a world scale are sharply reflected in Canada.

"Far from being the peaceful "True North Strong and Free", Canada is an advanced capitalist and imperialist country, part of the ~~network~~ global network of imperialist conflicts, pacts and war alliances. The Canaidan ruling class with its own imperialist interests at home and abroad, has entered into the NATO and NORAD alliances and has provided armaments and diplomatic cover for the exploits of U.S. imperialism most notably in Vietnam. Canada has actively backed politically and militarily the genocide in South East Asia, through the lies and spying on the International Control Commission, the massive war research operations and the billion dollar sales of arms and war material."

[illegible] policies in the same way at home.

The Canadian state itself contains within it a colony. The very existence of Canada is based on the oppression of an entire nation, the Quebecois, who are denied by the anglophone capitalists even their most basic national right to speak their own language. The rising struggle of the Quebecois for national independence is profoundly affecting the developing radicalization throughout the entire country.

The worldwide rise of feminism struggling to break the chains of domestic slavery strikes at the deepest contradictions of capitalism which is unable and unwilling to free women. The immense contradiction that women see between what could be done to free them from their age-old oppression and the reality of their lives under capitalism is at the roots of the rising feminism. This second wave of feminism is bringing into question the central pillar of sexist society, the patriarchal family. The women's liberation movement is a signal that this radicalization is challenging the most funda-

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The profound contradictions of capitalism which have generated the youth radicalization on a world scale are sharply reflected in Canada. The Canadian ruling class, the tiny handful of men who control almost all the wealth of this country, has willingly tied the entire economy to the needs of U.S. imperialism bringing about the domination of all aspects of Canadian life by the U.S. The Canadian ruling class has made itself the chief apologist for U.S. imperialism and has providedarm_ments and diplomatic cover for all its exploits, most notably in Vietnam. Canada has actively backed the genocide through the alliances of NATO and NORAD, the lies and spying on the International Control Commission, massive war research operations and billion dollar sales of arms and war material.

Imperialism, while ruthlessly crushing people abroad, carries out its policies in the same way at home.

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mental myths and reactionary institutions of capitalism.

The Oppression of Youth

Students have formed the front ranks of the struggle for national independence of Quebec with actions like the mass occupations of the Gegeps in 1968 and the demonstrations by tens of thousands of students against Bill 63 in 1969 - focusing the attention of the entire Quebecois nation on the government and sparking it into action. The majority of students on campuses in English Canada and Quebec oppose U.S. aggression in Vietnam and students have been the most consistent and active defenders of the Vietnamese. Their revulsion for the crimes of the U.S. war machine was graphically revealed in the Amchitka actions when 50,000 students took to the streets and moved thousands of B.C. workers into action. It has been students who have led in forging the feminist movement, demanding that the campuses and highschools meet the needs of women and forming the militant, mass action wing of the campaign for repeal of the abortion laws to enable women to control their own bodies.

It is no accident that youth have been in the forefront of social struggles in English Canada and Quebec as they have throughout the world. Youth are at the center of this radicalization because we, as youth, face our own particular kind of oppression within capitalist society.

Capitalism denies youth independence. High school, junior high and public school students are tied to the family - almost totally dependent on their parents' finances. Even post-secondary students remain dependent on their families' incomes. Almost half the university students from large cities live at home; for community college students the percentage is even higher. In addition campus students on the average depend on their parents for over 25 percent of their income. This economic dependence is made even more inescapable by the massive youth unemployment in Canada that the government has declared a "permanent feature" of the economy, the scarcity of summer jobs and because youth are poorly paid.

Youth are not only economically dependent, they are also economically deprived. Fifty-five percent of university undergrads have total annual incomes of between $800 and $1677 (of which over 30 percent is taken up by basic university costs: fees, books, etc). Sixty percent of university students spend less than $130 on entertainment a year and most students have only a bare minimum of personal belongings. Many grad students live near or below the poverty line.

Through their dependency on the patriarchal family youth are trapped within the narrow confines of the home and denied the right to express their sexuality. In the schools the administration takes over the patriarchal rule of the family; birth control information and devices are denied to students; the right to abortion is denied and the administration enforces reactionary

residence regulations. Through the family, the schools and the laws, the sexuality of youth is crushed and suppressed. Premarital sex is punished with enforced pregnancy (the largest factor in young women leaving school) or with forced marriages (about one third of all marriages).

To ensure that youth are tied to the family and confined by the school authorities, youth are denied legal rights. Students under 18 (in some cases under 21) have no independent legal rights. Even on the campuses students are subject to double jeopardy (subject to legal reprisals by both state and university).

The Expansion of Education

At the basis of the central and weighty role that youth are playing in the radicalization is the tremendous expansion and increased importance of education in capitalist society.

Students have always been involved in the revolutionary movement. In the Russian revolution student struggles played an important role in challenging Tzarism at a time when education at all levels was restricted to a privileged few. What was true in Lenin's time, when the universities were open only to a small elite, is a thousand times more true today. With the development of capitalism the role of education has changed qualitatively.

Since the end of W.W. II there has been a tremendous expansion of post-secondary education to produce hundreds of thousands of highly skilled technicians required by the expansion and technological advance of capitalism. This is especially true of Canada which has one of the largest student populations in the world. Over the past twelve years alone the number of post-secondary students jumped from 100,000 to 500,000. In the community colleges the number has increased twenty-fold in the past decade.

At the same time the character of the educational institutions has changed from a basically liberal arts university educating a small layer of the population to a specialized production network for training English Canadian and Quebecois youth. A whole sector of youth is being drawn into the work force as skilled laborers. Students have been turned into apprentices serving time to become skilled workers who will have no control over their working conditions. More and more intellectual labor is taking on all the characteristics of manual labor in capitalist society. Graduate students, who are becoming aware of their conditions of study and work, are beginning to demand the right to organize and be paid a basic wage.

Post-secondary students no longer come from only the privileged layers of society. In Ontario 68 percent of all post-secondary students come from families whose income is under $10,000; 48 percent from families of income under $7,000. Almost all students are headed into the work force as teachers, skilled workers and technicians. Many will be

unable to even find these skilled jobs for which they were trained. The fact that the overwhelming majority of students are headed into the labor force is increasingly reflected in the composition of the working class. For example, of B.C.'s one million workers 1/5 of them, or two hundred thousand, have had some post-secondary education.

The massive weight of students is even more apparent in the numbers of high school, junior high and public school students who make up more than a quarter of the population of the whole country. These students are channelled into academic, technical and commercial courses without regard for their interests and then either directly onto the work force or into post-secondary education.

Youth as Students

The cause of the revolt is to be found within the schools, colleges and universities. They are anything but ivory towers for the pursuit of learning and intensive intellectual activity: they are factories for training youth as the future work force of capitalism. They are class institutions; authoritarian and bureaucratic, reflecting all the contradictions of class-society - war research, discrimination against women and Quebecois, Americanization, and so on. Their potential of producing and transmitting knowledge is perverted into a sterile study of the justifications and rationalizations for capitalist oppression. The research and study is geared to meet the needs of the ruling class rather than the problems facing the vast majority.

As class institutions they are rigid and bureaucratic. Classes are overcrowded, knowledge is distorted and compartmentalized and thousands of students are driven to drop out through the pressure of exams. The boredom and alienation of students is rooted in the class nature of the universities and schools which are designed to serve the bourgeoisie rather than expand human creativity and meet the needs of the masses of society.

Youth come into the educational system affected by all the problems of society; by war, racism, national and sexual oppression, pollution and poverty; they are affected by the social movements of the times; they are looking forward towards a bright future and useful lives; they are hoping, year after year, to find answers to the problems facing humanity. But they find institutions which are irrelevant to the problems, seeking to uphold injustice and prevent youth from questioning the status quo.

So students have identified with the oppressed, not out of some abstract charity, but because they see their interests as tied to those of the oppressed - that the struggles of the oppressed represent a better future: the Cuban revolution and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

This is the key to the international student revolt. Students have come into action around all the big class questions of the day: they have

formed the front ranks of the mass movements, identifying themselves with the struggles of the oppressed around the world against imperialism. It is these struggles which most often awakened students to the oppression they faced as students in the schools, and which bring them into conflict with it. They see that the schools are irrelevant to the problems, that they resist change, they do not exist to answer the questions which youth have about the world. Therefore the rebellion against the injustices of capitalism quickly became a revolt against the authoritarianism and injustice in the bourgeois educational system as well. This revolt of youth is the vanguard of the present radicalization which is emerging around the central contradictions of capitalism.

The Current Radicalization

The revolutionists of the YS/LJS embrace this radicalization. We know that the struggles of women, Quebecois, students, gays and others are not a passing phenomena or mere groupings of people around "issues" as the sectarians argue. All of these social movements have an anti-capitalist dynamic because they are mobilizing masses of people around concrete demands that affect their lives against the capitalist state. The movements are generated by the most fundamental contradictions of capitalism and are, in turn, challenging its very nature - imperialist [redacted] war, the perpetuation of national and sexual oppression and the oppression of youth. The overall demands of these movements cannot be met within the framework of capitalism. Canadian capitalism cannot end the national oppression of the Quebecois, it cannot grant the liberation of women, it cannot cease to be imperialist [redacted] With the growing crisis of world capitalism it cannot grant major concessions of a sufficient scope to turn back the process of the radicalization or decisively block any of these movements.

The capitalist class can maintain its power only by propagating illusions and deceiving the masses about the nature of this society. The radicalization is the process whereby masses of people begin to break from these illusions and refuse to swallow the old answers. The depth of this radicalization is evident by the rebellion of the most oppressed layers in society; by the women, the Quebecois, the youth who are standing to assert their dignity and humanity and challenging even the most deepgoing myths and prejudices of bourgeois society. All of these sectors are moving out in their own name, against their own oppression, in concrete struggle against the capitalist state. delete

The nationalist movement in Quebec strikes at the very foundation of the Canadian state whose existence is based on the denial of nationhood to the Quebecois. The systematic attempt of the English-speaking ruling class to destroy their language most bitterly sums up the oppression of the whole nation. Capital speaks English in Quebec and the struggle against the destruction of the French language rapidly becomes a struggle against the anglophone bourgeoisie as well. The struggle for a unilingual French educational system and for French as the language of work challenges the

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Gays excluded again

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ruling English bosses with a revolt of the nation.

Despite its aim of crushing the nationalist movement with the War Measures Act in the fall of 1970, the bourgeoisie was able only to stun it temporarily. The massive demonstrations for independence (July 1) and for a French Quebec in the fall of 1971 attest this fact. That the radicalization of the Quebecois masses has continued to deepen, awakening newer layers of the nation, has been evidenced by the militancy of the more than 200,000 public service workers on strike and by the thousands more in the private sector who walked off the job to protest the jailing of the three principal trade union leaders and the vicious anti-strike law 19 which outlawed the legal strike of the Front Commun. The wave of protests following the imprisonment of the common front leaders expressed the rage of the nation. Students, fighting attempts to extend their school year, joined their demands to those of the workers in the spontaneous upsurge against the Bourassa government.

"A fundamental element in the development of the radicalization in Canada, as around the world, has been the movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The inspiration of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against the military might of U.S. imperialism has expressed itself concretely in the movement to defend the Vietnamese right to self-determination. By mobilizing the opposition and revulsion against the specific crimes of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and by exposing the war alliances and material and diplomatic complicity of the Canadian government the antiwar movement has deepened the anti-imperialist conciousness of Canadian youth— their understanding that colonial oppression flows from a worldwide systemof imperialism. It has sought to direct this opposition in an anti-capitalist direction against the Canadian ruling class. The antiwar movement has exposed to a small but significant layer of Canaidans the imperialist nature of Canada and prevetned the Canadian bourgeoise from openly aiding the U.S. It was decisive in moving the NDP away from cold war politics and has uncovered the betraryals of Stalinism. Moreover the movement in defence of the Vietnamese has deepend the internationalist outlook of the student movement and made immeasureable contribution to the process of thousands of youth coming to revolutionary socialist conclusions.

"The actions against the Amchitka bomb test were one of the most massive popular upsurges in English Canadian history involving tens of thousands of students and workers and sweeping into many small towns across the country. The Amchitka protest was a mass anti-bomb, antiwar, pacifist, pro-ecology action that was fuelled by a deep-seated hatred for the U.S. war machine that in the main the antiwar movement had developed. For thousands of youth it was their first political experience and for the first time massive contingents of high school and community college students took to the streets.

"But it was a perfect example of how the ruling class will use nationalism in an attempt to derail struggles. Playing on the illusions of "peaceful" Canada, the ruling class fostered the waiving of Candian flags, the singing of "Oh Canada" in order to hide its complicity in the U.S. war machine and its participation in imperialost pacts like NHRAD and NATO.

"Revolutionary socialists must combat bourgeois nationalism which is used to deflect all protest and discontnet away from the Canadian ruling class and mobilize support for the Canadian state. Nationalists hold that the problem of the universities is not their class nature but the American professors and textbooks; that unemployment is caused by U.S. investment; that the main enemy is U.S. imperialism and not the Canadian bourgeoise. But boureois nationalism is used most against the struggle of the Quebecois for their self-determination, as the Liberal election theme of "national unity" testifies.

"Revolutionary socialists intervened in the Amchitka actions to deepen the opposition to the U.S. war machine by raising the question of the Vietnam war and to take it in against the world imperialist systemt and in an anti-capitalist direction by exposing Canaid.n complicity."

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Despite its aim of crushing the nationalist movement with the War Measures Act in the fall of 1970, the bourgeoisie was able only to stun it temporarily. The massive demonstrations for independence (July 1) and for a French Quebec in the fall of 1971 attest this fact. That the radicalization of the Quebecois masses has continued to deepen, awakening newer layers of the nation, has been evidenced by the militancy of the more than 200,000 public service workers on strike and by the thousands more in the private sector who walked off the job to protest the jailing of the three principal trade union leaders and the vicious anti-strike law 19 which outlawed the legal strike of the Front Commun. The wave of protests following the imprisonment of the common front leaders expressed the rage of the nation. Students, fighting attempts to extend their school year, joined their demands to those of the workers in the spontaneous upsurge against the Bourassa government.

A fundamental element in the development of the radicalization in English Canada has been the movement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The inspiration of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against the military might of U.S. imperialism has expressed itself concretely in the movement to defend the Vietnamese right to self-determination. The antiwar movement has exposed the criminal complicity of the Canadian government in the imperialist genocide and by changing the relationship of forces between the state and the Canadian people has prevented the Canadian bourgeoisie from openly aiding the U.S. war effort by sending Canadian troops. The antiwar movement has won thousands to the side of the Vietnamese revolution and has made an immeasurable contribution to the process of thousands of youth coming to revolutionary conclusions.

The antiwar movement has also been the clearest expression and a main focus of the anti-imperialist sentiment in Canada. The revulsion of Canadian youth and the Canadian people with the horrors and ruthlessness of U.S. imperialism and its domination of every aspect of Canadian life were at the roots of the massive spontaneous upsurge against the Amchitka blast. The rebellion against the arrogance of imperialism marked the further deepening of the nationalist, pro-Canada, sentiment of the Canadian masses. As Amchitka showed this pro-Canada sentiment was directed not in support of the Canadian bourgeoisie but against the brutality of U.S. imperialism. This sentiment has become central to Canadian political life as is manifested in the debates and discussions around Americanization on the university, resource sellouts, foreign takeover, war research and so on. It is a sentiment that is leading thousands to see the necessity for a struggle to win the control of Canada by the Canadian people, a struggle that is also against the Canadian ruling class which is unwilling and unable to break its ties with its senior partner in Washington.

The revolutionary thrust of the radicalization is shown clearly by the rapid growth of the feminist movement which is involving women from all layers of society in numerous struggles to challenge their oppression as

a sex. Women are rejecting the myth that they are destined to inferior status because of their biology. The campaign to repeal the abortion laws has become the means for uniting women, of giving a focus to the feminist struggle and is the vehicle around which a mass feminist movement is being built. The victory of the campus referendum campaign and the establishment this year of a cross-country abortion coalition at the Winnipeg Conference mark important gains for the movement.

All of these movements have an anti-capitalist dynamic because they can bring masses of people into political action independent of the ruling class and its parties. It is through the experience of these concrete struggles against the capitalist state that masses of people will come to a broader understanding of their oppression and of the need to fundamentally change society. It is the anti-capitalist movements expressing this radicalization that will be decisive in bringing the working class as a whole into motion.

~~All of these movements are finding their expression in the working class because the radicalization of the doubly oppressed sectors of the workers (women, Quebecois, youth) is inseparable from the radicalization of the class as a whole.~~ A majority of the workers in Canada are either women, Quebecois or youth. These movements are bringing the working class onto a higher level and politicizing it. With their mass action character they will be a decisive factor in breaking the working class as a whole from reformism and class collaberation. Already these movements have influenced the NDP, a labor party based on independent political action by the working class. The antiwar movement and the anti-imperialist sentiment as a whole has been central in breaking the ranks of the NDP from the cold war politics of the leadership. At the last Federal Convention of the NDP the central debates were on the questions of the right of the Quebecois to self-determination and the role of women in the party. The radicalization in the party was reflected in the broad left-wing formation, the Waffle, whose membership was more than 50 percent student. And the mass action struggles, in particular in defence of the French language, will be key in exposing the bourgeois character of the Parti Quebecois.

A Program Is Necessary

While the continued deepening of the radicalization is inevitable because it is rooted in the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society, the growth of these movements and the process of the working class and its allies coming to power is not automatic. History has shown again and again that without a revolutionary leadership there can be no revolution. Such a leadership cannot be pulled together at the last moment, in the heat of a pre-revolutionary situation. It must be constructed during the whole development of the struggle.

The revolutionary socialists are the only ones who can provide a program that can allow the mass movements to fully develop their revolutionary thrust. Our strategy aims to lead them most sharply and quickly along their anti-capitalist course; to prevent them from being diverted into par-

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as opposed to reform + ultra

parliamentary reformist or ultraleft course; and to maintain a mass action focus directed against the capitalist state. By building mass actions, independent of the ruling class, the relationship of forces is shifted in favor of the masses; new layers are brought into the struggle and activists in these movements can be won to revolutionary socialism. The mass movement is the school of the masses teaching them their own power as well as the twists and turns of the ruling class. As opposed to the reformists, who aim to convince and pressure the ruling class, or the ultralefts who would substitute themselves for the masses, our aim is to deepen and extend the mass movements and ensure that their full dynamic is allowed to unfold.

The "Red University" Strategy

The YS/LJS is the only tendency in Canada with a revolutionary program for the student movement, one which encompasses both the broad mass movements and student issues, and which is directed to transforming the university and schools themselves into instruments of the struggle.

Our strategy is based on both the revolutionary potential of the student movement and on its limitations. Students by their own efforts cannot make the revolution. Only the working class, with its vast reserves of energy and strategic position, can fundamentally transform society. But at the same time, students are spearheading the radicalization and their struggles ~~against the oppression they face~~ as students have a profoundly revolutionary thrust, challenging the bourgeoisie's control of education. Therefore, our strategy for students also bases itself on the independent dynamic of student struggles; that is, it encompasses students own struggles against the administration and at the same time links them to the central struggles of society as a whole.

The dynamic of all student struggles is to wrest the universities, colleges and schools out of the hands of the ruling class and to make them serve the needs of the mass movements. On a worldwide scale students have taken over the educational institutions to use them as centers for the oppressed. In Yugoslavia in 1968 students fought to wrench the universities from the hands of the bureaucracy and make it serve the needs of the workers and peasants; in Mexico students fought to open the university to peasants and on some campuses they have established Marxist classes controlled by the students and faculty; the birth of the antiwar university in May 1970 in the U.S. was the largest student upsurge in history helping to force an early withdrawal of U.S. forces from Cambodia. In the May-June 1968 events in France students took over their campuses and battled the police at the barricades, sparking the largest general strike in the history of France and shaking the very foundations of class rule in that country. Across the globe students have challenged the right of the ruling classes and bureaucracies to control the schools and universities. In Quebec in 1968 students in the Cegeps carried a mass student power occupation and in 1969 demanded the repeal of Bill 63. In the fall of 1971 students in English Canada used the schools and universities as organizing

centers against U.S. imperialism around Amchitka.

Based on the experience of the international student movement the YS/LJS puts forward the strategy of the "Red University" or "Red School". The Red University is not a slogan but an overall strategy within which we put forward a transitional program for students; demands which can lead students from the struggle for their immediate interests to the task of placing the schools and campuses at the service of the broader social struggles.

This strategy aims to transform the university into an organizing center to build the mass movements; to create the antiwar university, the women's liberation university and the university in the service of the independentist movement. The Red University strategy overcomes the false contradiction between student struggles and the broad class struggle; it replaces authoritarianism with the democratic control of students, faculty and support staff; and replaces serving the needs of the bourgeoisie with building the mass movements against the bourgeoisie. In this way the struggles of students are tied to the center of the class struggle and at the same time they challenge the oppression of students by posing a democratic university entirely different from the bourgeois university.

Student struggles around their own immediate needs (parity, abolishing residence restrictions, control of hiring and course content, and so on) raise the alternative of democratic control by those who use the university in place of authoritarian rule by the bourgeoisie. The U. of T. library struggle, for example, raised the question: "Who has the right to decide who uses the library?" The logic of all such struggles is to challenge the bourgeoisie's right to decide. That is why the Toronto Globe and Mail condemned U. of T. President Sword's compromise as "the grovelling of authority before the students."

Students' support for the mass movements poses the question: "In whose interests should the university be run?" Therefore, student participation and leadership in the broad mass movements does not separate them from the university and the school. On the contrary, it fundamentally challenges their present use and logically leads to demands to free the whole resources of the university and schools to build these struggles.

The victorious abortion referenda leads towards using the university as a base to build a massive campaign to fight for repeal of the abortion laws. Thus the Red University and Red School strategy links together both the broad social struggles in which students play a key role and the struggles of students around their own immediate needs.

The Reformists

All the other tendencies in the student movement, both reformist and ultraleft, reject the strategy of the Red University. The Young Communist League and many student council reformists say that students should be concerned only with specifically student issues (fees, marks, parity, etc). At the Trois-Rivieres Conference held to form a student Front Commun

in Quebec this year, the YCL opposed taking any stand at all on broad political issues like unilingualism (which they oppose), women's liberation and Vietnam. Following the line of the Communist Party the YCL subordinates the interests of the masses and the student movement to the needs of the parasitic bureaucracy in the Kremlin. At the Windsor Conference held to discuss the formation of a Canadian Student Union reformist student councillors fought to limit the future organization to narrowly student issues. By attempting to constrict the student movement in this way the reformists and Stalinists cannot even fight effectively for these limited demands. You cannot fight seriously for democracy in the schools and at the same time ignore the struggles of women, Quebecois and the Vietnamese. These latter struggles are inextricably linked to the struggle for democracy because they oppose the restrictive and irrelevant nature of the schools. In the high schools, for example, it has been demands for Vietnam assemblies and the right to form women's liberation groups that have been at the centre of the struggle for student rights.

As well as attempting to confine the demands of the student movement these reformists also reject building an independent student movement based on the action of masses of students. Because of their faith in the bourgeois administration, the reformists reject independent mass action in favor of negotiations and lobbying with the government to which end they attempt to subordinate every struggle of the students.

The Ultralefts

The ultralefts who substitute their own actions for the masses of students go to the other extreme and reject student issues altogether or try and divert them away from the campuses and schools. They advocate going "to the community" or the working class. During the U. of T. library struggle the Canadian Party of Labor and other ultralefts attempted to make "community access" (to the library) the central demand of the struggle as a substitute for students organizing themselves to fight for undergrad access which was being removed. They argued that students are a priviliged elite and they were unable to understand the anti-capitalist nature of student struggles. In the Texpack strike in Brantford and Remi Carier in Montreal, ultraleft students in Waffle and Comite d'Action Politique (CAPs) took students to the picket lines as substitutes for the struggles of the workers themselves. These tendencies, as well as the Canadian Liberation Movement, a nationalist sect, the Communist Party of Canada (M-L), the Healyites and others, urge students to abandon the campuses and schools for the ineffective appeals to workers and the community.

The ultralefts establish a false contradiction between the interests of students and those of workers; between student struggles and workers' struggles. We reject their siphoning off of student activists as picket fodder for workers instead of putting forward a strategy which links the independent struggles of students as a whole to the broad struggles of the working class. Our Red University strategy, combined with our mass action perspective for building the central political movements, places students and their struggles as central to the struggles of the working class.

This strategy aims not only to deepen the consciousness of students and bring new layers of students into the struggle but at the same time it aims to take the struggle outward to the working class and other oppressed layers.

The impact students have already had through their active building of the language campaign, abortion campaign and the antiwar movement is enormous, reaching far beyond the campus and high schools. And this is only the beginning.

All of our opponents, both reformist and ultraleft, reject the mass movements against the war, for abortion on demand and French unilingualism. And it is these movements which bring students into the central political struggles on a world scale and, at the same time, pose the need for a red, or revolutionizing, university as a center to build the movements which are struggling to change the world. To reject building these movements, which are based on the consciousness and the objective needs of the masses is also to reject any revolutionary strategy for students.

Our Program for Students

The YS/LJS program for the student movement raises demands in the framework of building the red university and high school. We have a transitional program for students - a program consisting of transitional and democratic demands that are capable of relating to the needs of students at their present level of consciousness and mobilizing them into anti-capitalist struggle. Specific demands are applied to specific situations but all with the purpose of furthering the goal of transforming the campuses and schools into centers of anti-capitalist activity.

Following is a partial program of demands we raise in the student movement at the present conjuncture:

DEMOCRATIZE EDUCATION

These demands mobilize students in struggle to win their elementary democratic and civil rights. Such rights are essential for the full freedom of political action in the schools. At the same time they mobilize students in struggle against the administration for control of their own lives. In this way they lead to a struggle for control of the schools and campuses by students, faculty and support staff.

Full civil liberties for all students, including freedom of speech, assembly, dress, organization and criticism. Non-compulsory class attendance. Full independence for student councils.

- No cops on campus. No cooperation with the RCMP. No secret files on students.
- No public funds to separate schools. End religious discrimination by abolishing religious exercises.
- Full student control of all residences.

- Control of all educational institutions, including hiring and firing, by student, faculty and support staff. Big business off the Boards of Governors and School Boards.

not precise; take up matter of parallel structures.

STOP THE CUTBACKS

Demands against the cutbacks aim to defend the gains of the student movement and defend students from the attacks and cutbacks of the government as the needs of the bourgeoisie for increasing skilled labor decline. By opposing this manipulation of education by the ruling class these demands challenge the organization of education for profit and the perverse priorities of capitalism. They open the way for demands that all levels of education be open to everyone with fully adequate facilities.

- No tuition hikes. Tax big business.
- No increase in class size. No cutbacks in courses. No teacher layoffs. No extension of the school year.
- For the right of all grad students to organize and strike. Minimum wage for all grad students.
- Guaranteed jobs on graduation. + FREE & UNIVERSAL ACCESS as admendment. use previous programme

FOR INDEPENDENTIST SCHOOLS

Demands opposing the destruction of the French language in the Quebec schools, Cegeps and universities. These demands challenge the privileges of the English language in the educational system and link the struggles of Quebecois students to the struggles of the nation as a whole.

- For a French language educational system. McGill Francais. No compulsory courses in English. All textbooks in French.
- For the repeal of Bills 63 and 28 which institutionalize the destruction of the French language.
- That the schools end all connection with companies where the language of work is not French. For the publication of all investments and projects contracted by the schools and the directors.
- For adequate francophone schools in all the French communities across Canada
- For the right to speak, organize teach-ins, distribute leaflets, petitions, organize picket lines and demonstrations in support of the French language and for independence.

END CAMPUS COMPLICITY IN VIETNAM

These demands direct the massive antiwar sentiment among students against the administration and campus complicity, and pose using the university as a center to organize against the war. At the same time these demands pose implicity that students, not big business and the warmakers, should have the right to decide these matters.

- End school support to the Vietnam war. No war research on campus. ✓ mea
- Vietnam assemblies and the right to organize against the war in every mobiliz

school.
- Reveal all investments, holdings and contracts of the university and its officers.
- No big business recruiting on campus.
- Place the resources and facilities of the schools, colleges and campuses at the disposal of the antiwar movement. Withdraw all U.S. troops and material now. End Canada's complicity in the war.

END AMERICANIZATION

These demands direct the ~~nationalist~~ anti-imperialist sentiment and struggles of students against the administrations. They link the nationalism of students to the struggles of the Canadian people.

- Break the universities and schools from the U.S. war machine.
- Student-faculty-staff control of hiring, firing, promotions and course content.
- Teach the truth about Canadian history. Student-faculty-staff controlled Canadian studies departments.
- Open the resources of the university to struggles in the interests of the Canadian people.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

These demands, challenging the oppression of women in the schools and campuses and posing that they become centers of feminist activity, link the struggles of student women to the women's liberation movement as a whole.

- Full right of women to organize in the schools. Free birth control information and devices available in the schools. Coeducational sex education beginning in public school. Abortion referral services and clinics.
- Accredited women's studies departments controlled by the women who use them. Write women back into history.
- End discrimination against women staff and faculty. Equal pay, positions and promotions.
- 24-hour day care centers on campus available to all and financed by the university, controlled by those who use them.
- Place the resources of the university at the disposal of the abortion law repeal movement. Repeal all abortion laws.

The Crisis of Leadership

Over the past few years there have been many hopeful pronouncements by the bourgeois press that the student movement is now dead or that it became hopelessly lost after 1968. These views have been echoed in the student movement by those who claim that it has been "by-passed" by the rise of workers' struggles. Such conclusions result from mistaking the absence of spectacular struggles or confrontations with a halt in the radicalization. In fact, there have been more struggles involving more students than four years ago, although they have been relatively isolated and inde-

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cisive. But the demagogy of the bourgeois press is not so much directed against these struggles as it is against the profound deepening of the radicalization as a whole in the past four years. In fact, it is the very depth of the radicalization thatmakes so conspicuous the absence of large-scale struggles today. As well, it poses more sharply than ever before the need for an effective leadership.

The period of 1968-69 saw the first world-wide upsurge of the student movement. In Yugoslavia, Argentina, Mexico, France and Czeckoslovakia there were massive revolts. These events made clear the vanguard role being played by students in the social revolutions of this era. The just-awakened student movement in Quebec and English Canada was no exception.

Coming out of the spring of 1968 the New Left, grouped in the Canadian Union of Students and the Union Generale des Etudiants de Quebec and to some extent in the Students for a Democratic University groups, was clearly in the leadership of the first wave of student revolt. Across the country they formed a clearly recognizable core of outspoken leaders who could call for action in response to big events and initiate protests. There was a strong identification with student struggles around the world and solidarity with the then prominent New Left organizations like SDS in Germany and the U.S.

Despite the fact that the radicalization had only reached a small layer of students on the campus the New Left was able to lead very important and powerful struggles. The Simon Fraser strike for parity in the PSA Department, the Dow sit-ins, a number of large fee and loan demonstrations and McGill Francais were all powerful actions with a cross-country impact on the student movement which caught the attention of the entire population. The relative continuity of leadership and the debates, discussions and plans about a "Year of the Seige" in the student press and CUS publications created a sense of immediacy on the campus and a broad forum for political debate and education. The bourgeois press helped to maximize the impact of the struggles and the influence of the New Left with sensational coverage of "campus unrest" and the "new radicals" who said they were going to "burn the universities."

But the New Left had no program and no strategy with which it could deepen the radicalization as it was unfolding and develop and lead the struggles of students, linking them with other sectors of society. The May-June 1968 events in France, showing that the working class in the imperialist countries was capable of revolutionary initiatives, hastened the fracturing of the New Left leadership which could reach no common assessment of the momentous events. As a result of the spontaneist, ultra-left, "Revolution Now" concept of the struggle, the New Left became isolated from the radicalization that was opening up. The right wing mobilized against it and initiated referendums on campus affiliation to CUS. The New Left abdicated the fight with a "you're with us or against us" attitude and dissolved UGEQ and discarded CUS.

The collapse of the New Left leadership had a big effect on the student movement. The radicalization continued to deepen and broaden, reaching new layers of students, but the clearly recognized group of radicals who could initiate and lead the struggle was broken up and was not replaced.

Concessions

After the events of 1968-69 the ruling class moved in with a whole series of concessions to students in an attempt to prevent an explosion. The administration, drawing its own lessons from the student revolt, took full advantage of the disarray of the student leadership. In the space of almost a year, course structures were relaxed and seminars added. This year almost every major university was offering women's studies courses, many with accreditation. Numerous university government participation schemes were initiated with students receiving up to one third of the seats on top governing bodies. As part of the attempt to project a liberal image many administrations cancelled classes and even rented buses for the Amchitka protests.

On another front the federal government moved in on a massive scale to ease the graduate and summer unemployment at minimum cost with the Opportunities for Youth and Local Initiatives Programs. Not only did the government succeed in creating thousands of low-paying jobs, but by supporting community action projects, the illusion of finding useful work and creating change within the system.

The significant concessions made to students were accompanied by a conscious fostering of reformism in the student movement. A recent indication of this was the Ontario Government's funding of travel costs for the initial meeting to form the Ontario Federation of Students. On the other hand a whole layer of radicals have turned to ultraleftism, rejecting the student movement as such. These ultralefts, demoralized about the mass movements, limit themselves to revolutionary rhetoric and calls to support workers' struggles. This reformism and ultraleftism in the wake of 1968-69 reflects the present crisis of perspective in the student movement.

The Student Radicalization Deepens

But while there is a certain lull in the student movement other sectors of the radicalization have surged ahead.

The high school movement, born since the first wave of campus revolt, brought tens of thousands of students into the streets against Amchitka; in the spring of 1971 5,000 high school students in Toronto walked out to protest education cutbacks. Since then the West Kildonan strike for non-compulsory class attendance won the biggest victory in the Canadian student movement and in Quebec high school and Cegep students have been in the forefront of independentist struggles.

The rising feminist consciousness among students has been reflected in the formation of women's study courses, day care struggles and the spring 1972 abortion referendum campaign. The rise of these movements are a sign of the power and depth of the present radicalization. While there may be certain temporary setbacks the rise of new movements and the coming into action of new sectors will speed the resurgence of all the struggles.

Not only have certain sectors moved out, the radicalization as a whole has continued to deepen profoundly. No sector of the student population, including the traditionally conservative faculties, feels that it is getting a good deal. There is a deep-going question of all aspects of capitalism. Not only is there a questioning but also a search for alternatives. On the campuses there is an increased interest in the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Thousands of students attended meetings held for Sean Kenny, Tariq Ali and Ernest Mandel that we sponsored this year; our last subscription drive was by far the most successful and there is a growing demand for our literature.

This deepening of the radicalization presents a basic challenge to the ruling class. The concessions made by the administrations in the past two years do not solve any of the basic problems students face. Increased student representation on governing bodies does not end war research on campus or provide women with abortions. These reforms have not fundamentally changed the university or schools which are as much as ever class institutions. Therefore, while these reforms may have initially buffered the revolt they inevitably provoke even more basic questions about the nature of education and this society.

In addition to this the ruling class is becoming less and less able to grant substantial reforms or even maintain the present ones. The economic crisis of capitalism is forcing the bourgeoisie to undertake massive cutbacks in educational spending. As the vice-president of Ford of Canada put it in a recent speech; "Governments at all levels will be under pressure to purge the educational system." This purge, which is already underway, will affect all aspects of education and threatens to take away those things that students have come to expect as minimal. The mounting opposition to the cutbacks and deteriorating conditions could very well initiate a new resurgence of the student movement.

The deepening of the radicalization has led to a number of struggles challenging the reformist student council cliques on a number of campuses in the past year. At McGill and in Edmonton students organized to defend the independence of their student papers from attempts by student councils to impose more conservative policies and staff on the papers. On a number of campuses moves to decentralize the student unions were turned back by students. Most important were the battles we fought at U.E.C., York and U. of T. against attempts by student council cliques to prevent socialist slates from being elected or acclaimed. On these campuses thousands of students rallied to the defense of our slates. All of these battles within the student movement in the past year pose a growing challenge to the

reformists in the student movement and show the mounting desire of thousands of students to go beyond their narrow attempts to negotiate reforms.

The YS/LJS

This deepening and extension of the student radicalization since the events of 1968-69 poses more clearly than ever the need to build a new leadership, one that is fundamentally different from the New Left. This leadership must have a clear understanding of the role of students in building the Canadian and Quebecois revolution and have the strategy and organization necessary to do this. Because of this it cannot come from loose coalitions of radicals with different viewpoints like the old SDUs or the present CAPs in Quebec, nor can it come from committees thrown together during the course of a struggle. It requires a bi-national organization of leaders and activists who are united around a common program and a clear strategy that can lead the student movement forward and link it to the class struggle as a whole.

This is the YS/LJS. We are a youth organization, both in and of the student movement, armed with the Red University strategy and transitional program for students, fighting to build the mass struggles of students and win the best militants to the revolutionary movement. It has been the experience of the Marxist movement that youth can best come to revolutionary socialism through their own organization. As Lenin wrote: "for necessarily the youth must come to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, under other circumstances than their fathers...this is why we must be decidedly in favour of the independence of the youth leagues...for unless they have complete independence the youth will be unable to train good socialists from their midst, or to prepare themselves to lead socialism forward."

The task of leading the student movement and winning the best youth to revolutionary socialism is inextricably tied to our goal of building the revolutionary socialist leadership of the working class. Unlike some of our opponents in the student movement, we are not worried about finding the vanguard. We are in political solidarity with the vanguard elements of the English Canadian and Quebecois working class in the LSA/LSO, an independent part of a common movement united in the task of constructing the vanguard party necessary to lead the working class and its allies in socialist revolution.

Our work over the past ten years in building the mass movements, first in defence of the Cuban revolution, then the Vietnamese revolution up to the present campaigns for abortion on demand and in defence of the French language in Quebec have brought to our ranks the best activists and militants in the student movement. It is around these struggles, of global importance, that the student movement will develop its full potential as a force in the struggle for socialist revolution and will generate the revolutionary socialist leaders.

Since our last convention our politics have become more and more central to the debates and life of the campuses and high schools. Our comrades at West Kildonan led the biggest victory in the history of the high school student movement; we played a central role in the Amchitka upsurge while other tendencies scarcely managed to get their leaflets into the demonstrations. On the campuses we initiated the struggles against the cutbacks in educational spending where our role was decisive in the first cross-Ontario demonstration against the cutbacks. Our comrades in Hull are leading the struggle for a francophone Cegep and our base in the community colleges is greated than ever before. On the campuses we received an average of 15 percent of the vote in the campus elections at over a dozen campuses and many campus comrades or contacts were elected to student council positions. In the past year and a half we have become further embedded on the campuses through our campus clubs and campus locals.and we must now move into the high schools in the same way to meet the tremendous possibilities for building our movement there.

We in the YS/LJS have undertaken the most important task of our era - to win a whole generation to the struggle against world imperialism and its dehumanizing oppression and brutality; to win our generation to the side of the oppressed of the world in their fight for liberation.

Through carrying out the plans we have made for the coming year we will be able to make significant advances in winning hegemony in the student movement and bringing to our ranks hundreds more of the young militants who will be in the vanguard of the coming socialist revolution.

Draft (1a)

AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION -- on The origins of the Student Revolt.

The following ammendments flow from the correction made in the Political Report to the Sept. YS/LJS plenum on the question of the origins of the youth radicalization. The report explained that the Draft Political Resolution had overemphasized the fact that youth and students are oppressed under capitalist society in its explanation of why students in Canada and across the world have come into political action. The report also outlined a more correct analysis which has been incorporated into the ammendments.

Page 6..... The Current Radicalization, paragraph 2.

delete "The deapth of this radicalization".....to end of par.

substitute — In Canada, the movements of students, Quebecois and women are ~~xxx~~ initial expressions of this radicalization, and constitute important componemts of the process whereby the working class as a whole is radicalizing.

Page 8,....par. 3. Delete ~~xx~~ the sentence which begins "All of these movements...." ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

*

Page 9.....The Red University Strategy, par. #2,3rd sentence

delete the words "against the oppression they face" *

Pages 3, 4, 5, — DELETE THE SECTIONS:

The Oppression of Youth

The Expansion of Education

Youth as students

and substitute the following section:

The Origins of the Youth Radicalization

It has been youth -- especially students -- who have been first to respond to the crisis of imperialism and the rise of world revolution. In Canada, students have formed the front ranks of the movement against the war in Vietnam: they have been leaders of the nationalist movement in Quebec, initiating actions like the mass occupations of the CEGEPs in 1968 and the demonstrations of tens of thousands against Bill 63 in 1969: and students have led in forging a feminist movement.

Why is it that students have come into action before other layers of society?

Youth, like any other non-capitalist layer face oppression under capitalist society. Capitalism denies youth independence. High School, junior high and public shcool students are tied to the family -- almost totally dependent on their parents' incomes. Even post secondary students remain dependent on their family incomes. Almost half of the university students from large cities live at home: for community college students the percentage is higher. This economic dependence is made even more inescapable by the massive youth unemployment. Through their dependency on the family, youth are trapped within the narrow confines of the home and denied the right to express their sexuality. In the schools the administration takes over the patriarchal rule of the family: birth control information and devises are denied: the right to abortion is deneid and many administrations enforce reactionary residence regulations. Through the family, the schools and the laws, the sexuality of youth is crushed and supressed. Premarital sex is punished with inforced pregnancy

(the largest factor in young women leaving school) or with forced marriages (about one third of all marriages).

The oppression that youth face provides a basis for them to identify with oppressed masses who are struggling for their liberation around the world, but does not explain why they have moved out in advance of other layers. This is the result of the interaction of essentially two main factors : that is the recent expansion of education occuring at a time of the crisis of world capitalism and the rise of the world (especially colonial) revolution.

It is due to the post-World-War-two expansion of education, that youth have been put in a position to be able to see the contradications between what is possible and what is the reality: to understand the significance of the barbaric efforts of imperialism to crush various struggles for liberation : and to be imspired with the conviction that it is possible to resist and to fight successfully for a better world.

Since the end of W.W. ll there has been an international expansion of education to produce the hundreds of thousands of highly skilled technitions required by the expansion and technological advance of capitalism. Capitalism is forced to continually expand its educational facilities because of the increasing degree to which intellectual labor becomes integrated into producative labor and therefore to which intellectual labor becomes the prime producative force in society. This process the proletqrianization of intellectual labor. has resulted in important changes in the character and social

In Canada, as a result of this process of proletarianization of intellectual labor the number of post secondary students jumped from 100,000 to 500,000 in the last 12 years alone. In the community colleges the number has increased twenty-fold in the last decade.

This expansion od education has meant that millions of youth have been brought together in a situation where:

1. they have time to question and discuss fundamental aspects of society. Where as most of a worker's day is consumed in labor, students have leisure time which can enable them to think and act politically.

2. they are relatively free from responsibilities. Temporarily freed from family and job restraints, morgage and bill payments, students can mpre easily step back and examine broad social questions.

3. they have access to information. Schools and colleges are ostensibly designed to encourage intellectual endeavour and students are expected to think and have books and other tools at their disposal to do so.

4. they have high expectations about what society and the educational system have and should have to offer. From childhood, students' expectation levels are inflated with the myth that "the world is beautiful and its yours if you just try hard."

5. they share the optimism of all youth. Not having suffered the

defeats and demoralizations of past generations, they see bright futures before them and the possibilities of living in a world without war, rascism, sexism, alienation, repression etc.

6. they find themselves in authoritarian, bureauvratic, class institutions of capitalist society. Instead of fostering creativity and intellect, the universities stifle and suppress it. They are alienating institutions which systematically discriminate against women, Quebecois, and other oppressed nationalisims and groupings.

So, the expansion of education has created a milieu where millions of sensitized youth are placed in a position to question society and search for alternatives: and also where the inflated expectation levels of youth are brought into conflict with reality.

Students' expectations of the possibilities of a world without war clash with the reality of Vietnam. Expectations that self-determination and "democracy" go hand in hand clash with the reality of Quebec, or Black America. Concepts of equality and freedom to choose one's dentiny clash with the reality facing women under class society. ~~Beliefs~~ The fact that humanity has the resourses and technology to deal with hunger, poverty, pollution, disease etc. clash with the ghettoes, stinking cities and moon shots of capitalism.

As well within the schools, students have interests (aspirations and needs) which are denied. They want to learn the truth, but the schools supress and distort the truth. Students want freedom to express themselves and act politically, but this is often denied. Students want to

be able to afford education, to have a decent standard of living when they are attending school, to have adequate learning facilities etc. but again, to grant these if not in the interestas of those who control education. Students want to develop their creative potentialities, to be non-alienated, to have some control over their education and to receive a meaningful job upon graduation; but capitalist education deadens creativity, fosters alienation, is hierarchal and seldom leads to meaningful employment.

There are two other important factors tied in with the expansion of education that effect the student radicalization: 1. the changing character of the student population 2. the increased weight of students as a social layer.

Because of the proletarianization of intellectual labor the class background and class destiny of students has changed. As education is expanded to meet the labor needs of the ruling class, the percentage of students who come from working class backgrounds and who ~~are~~, in turn, are to be thrust back in to the wordkig class, increases. (In 1960-61, 1/10 of the population between the ages of 18 and 25 was enrolled in post secondary institutions. By 71-72 it had risen to 1/5 and the projection for 1980 is 1/3.) Thus, while the student milieu is still a heterogeneous social layer , it is now essentially a layer in transition from, and to the working class. and students ~~will~~ therefore more easily identify with that class and its struggles.

Secondly, because the percentage of the population who are students ~~is~~ has increasing (there are ~~4 1/2~~ 4 1/2 million students

in Canada -- almost 1/5 of the entire population), the impact student struggles have on broader social layers -- specifically the working class -- is much greater than ever before. The massive student language struggles in Quebec or the Amchitka upsurge are indications of how the increased social weight of studnents is effecting the radicalization of the working class as a whole.

So, it has been the interaction of the numerous factors involved in the expansion of education that has created a sensitized and weighty layer, most able to feel the disparity between what is, and what should or could be. Because this is occuring during the rise of world revolution, students are coming to see the necessity and the possibility for fundamental change and have become inspired by the oppressed masses abound the world who have dared to struggle for their liberation. This has been behind the current youth radicalization in Canada and around the world.

In Canada the youth radicalization has centred around Vietnam, Quebec and womens oppression. Across Canada it has been the hypocracy of and brutality of imperialism and the heroic struggles of the colonial peoples -- especially the Vietnamese -- which have angered and inspired students, bringing thousands into the streets. In Quebec, the gap between what is and what is possible, has been exacerbated by the national oppression which students face. This has resulted in one of the most powerful and explosive student movements in the world. More recently, the question of womens liberation has led many students to question and to search for alternatives. More strictly "student" questions have also been significant, involving numerous struggles against cutbacks in educational spending, the firing of radical professors or for student rights -- such as the right to hold antiwar assemblies.

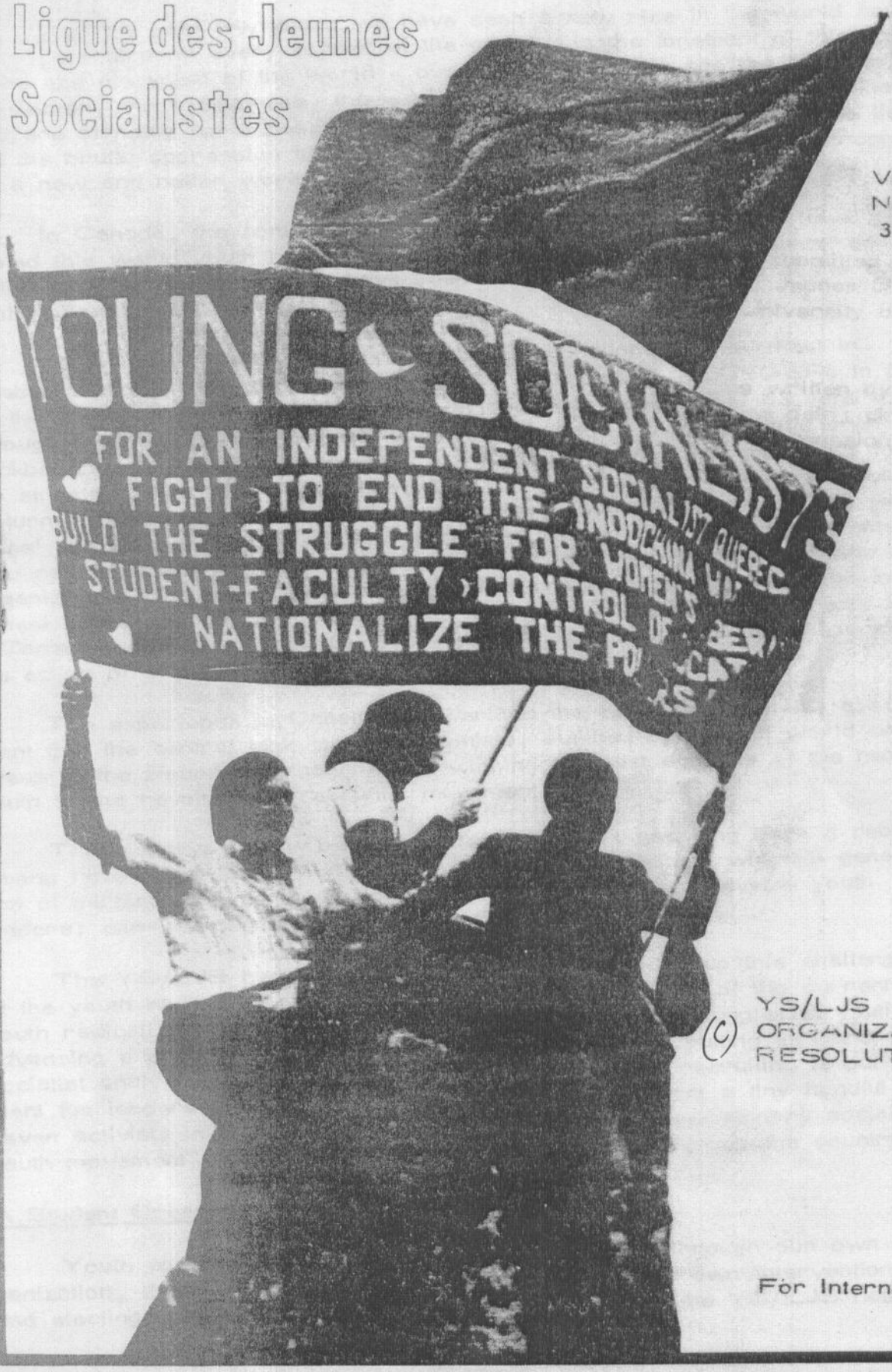
(end)

ZANE B.

Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

Volume 8
Number 2
30¢



(C) YS/LJS ORGANIZATIONAL RESOLUTION (15pp)

For Internal Circulation Only

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
DB 1972 (August) Vol. 8 No. 2

YS/LJS ORGANIZATIONAL RESOLUTION

Over the past few years we have seen a new rise in the world revolution, penetrating every corner of the globe. In the forefront of this upsurge are the youth of the world - our generation. We are the students, the women, the Vietnamese, the Québécois, the blacks - the young militants who are standing up to assert our humanity, who no longer accept the lies and the brutal oppression of imperialism, and who are heading the struggles for a new and better world.

In Canada, the contradictions of international capitalism that have generated this world youth revolt are felt very sharply, and the political activities and struggles of youth have been central to the unfolding of the current radicalization.

Youth have been in the front ranks of the nationalist movement in Quebec, waging struggles like the mass occupations of the CEGEPs *(junior colleges –ed.)* in 1968 or the demonstrations in 1969 of tens of thousands against Bill 63, and through them setting the Quebec nation into motion. Students have been the backbone of the anti-war movement which has brought many thousands into the streets to defend the Vietnamese's right to self determination, and which in turn has amplified the radicalization of many thousands more. The womens' liberation movement in this country is being forged by young women who refuse to tolerate their oppression under capitalist society and who are organizing everything from women's studies programs to the campaign for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. Just this year 50,000 took to streets in a Canadian nationalist upsurge to protest the Amchitka bomb test, sparking the action of 50,000 B. C . and Ontario workers.

The experience in Canada has verified the correctness of the assessment that the central task for revolutionists, outlined by the 9th world congress of the Fourth International, is winning the best activists of the rebel youth to the revolutionary socialist movement.

The question of how best to achieve this task has long been a debate among revolutionaries. What type of organization can best win this generation of militant youth to revolutionary socialism; can best develop youth leaders; can lead the student movement?

The YS/LJS has had a rich experience in taking up this challenge of the youth radicalization. Throughout the entire period of the current youth radicalization we have intervened in the various struggles of youth; advancing a program to take these struggles forward; putting forward a socialist analysis of the oppression students face; and recruiting to our movement the leaders and activists of these struggles. From a tiny handful of seven activists in I960 we have grown to become a revolutionary socialist youth movement, rooted in schools and on campuses across the country.

A Student Organization

Youth can best come to revolutionary socialism through our own organization, determining our own policies, planning our own interventions and electing our own leadership. The experience of the YS/LJS has shown this. A youth organization can most easily attract young activists and bring them into the revolutionary socialist movement. Youth

can most readily identify with and want to participate in a movement of other young people - in a movement of young people sharing common oppression and common aspirations. As Lenin put it: "for necessarily the youth must come to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, under other circumstances than their fathers...."

The expansion of education over the last decade has brought together a whole generation of youth into the massive educational institutions (four million students in Canada and Quebec). No longer broken up into various sections of society, youth are going through a common experience as students in the education system.

Under capitalist society, thousands upon thousands of youth are thrust together as students into repressive, authoritarian, bureaucratic institutions. Every day they face the boredom, irrelevance and alienating character of the high schools, colleges, and universities. Students are not only faced with inadequate material conditions, such as overcrowded classrooms, inadequate facilities, poor housing and food and so on, but even more profoundly with the authoritarian, alienating structure of the educational system and the inadequate substance of education. Rather than being prepared for fulfilling and meaningful lives they are channeled into corporate pigeon holes and trained in the skills necessary to keep advanced capitalist society running smoothly. Their questioning and desire for explanations leads them to search out answers that the sterile institutions cannot give.

The student movement has emerged on an international scale as one of the most dynamic factors in the new rise of the world revolution. It poses revolutionary socialists with the challenge of leading it and with the opportunity for intervention in a broad arena of radical activity.

We of the YS/LJS recognized this as far back as I967. We saw that to lead the student movement and win its best elements it took an organization that was a part of the life of the student movement, with a program and strategy for students.

The YS/LJS is a student organization, out to build the mass struggles of students, win hegemony in the student movement, and through this, win masses of radicalizing students to our movement and revolutionary socialism. We work on a day to day basis building the student wings of the main anti-capitalist movements that flow from the current radicalization. We are **of** the student movement. We embed ourselves on campuses and in the high schools -- building coalitions of students to fight around student issues as well as the main class questions of the day; through using student union elections and all aspects of campus life to build the student movement and advance our socialist propaganda.

A Training Ground for Developing Revolutionists

In order to reach out to all those radicalizing youth who have not committed their lives to the revolutionary struggle, the doors of the YS/LJS must be wide open to all those youth who want to change the world, who agree with the basics of our program and who are willing to fight to put it into practice.

The YS/LJS understands that the only force with the social weight and the

relationship to the means of production to be able to eradicate capitalism is the working class. We also understand that a revolutionary vanguard party must be built to lead the working class along with other oppressed sectors of society in a combined struggle for the seizure of state power. This party must be a disciplined body of thousands of leaders, with links and connections to every group and organization involved in anti-capitalist struggle and deeply rooted in the working class.

And we understand the crucial contribution we have to make in winning youth to the ranks of the revolutionary party. The YS/LJS can attract thousands of radicalizing youth who have not committed their lives to the struggle for socialism and who have not made up their minds about joining a political party, but who are willing to participate in revolutionary political action. Through building the struggles of students, through organizing our own movement, through making our own mistakes and learning from them, we can train and develop the young revolutionary cadre that can make a key contribution to building the vanguard party.

We don't require new members to have read all of Lenin, to understand the intricacies of Marxist economic theory or the history of revolutionary working class struggles. Rather if someone thinks socialism is necessary, wants to work toward it and agrees basically with what the YS/LJS is saying and doing, then that person should be in the YS/LJS.

Lenin posed this well in a letter he wrote (1905): "All that is needed is more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, again more widely and again more boldly to recruit young people, and not to be afraid of them. Enlarge the committee threefold by taking on young people, create five or ten sub committees, "co-opt" any and every honest and energetic person. Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development."

Because of our open recruitment policy we have a fairly high turnover in membership. While we attempt to keep this turnover rate as low as possible, we realize that this has and will always be a feature of our recruitment. The key to recruiting, to holding, and training developing revolutionists is to integrate them into the functioning of the YS/LJS and educate them in our ideas and our politics. We have found that this is best accomplished once we have people **inside** our movement -- attending local meetings, participating in fractions, coming to classes. It is clear that by taking a very open attitude towards recruitment, and at the same time working to develop all YS/LJS members politically, we will be able to recruit **and hold** many more new members than if we set high standards of understanding and commitment that screened out everyone who might not stay with us before they joined.

We increase the openness through the use of Young Socialist clubs. These are on-campus vehicles completely open to anyone interested in social change. The club gives students who do not meet the requirements of membership in the YS/LJS (i.e. commitment, familiarization with our politics, regular attendance, etc.) an opportunity to become active and learn in an organization (club) they can feel part of as well as providing for us a broad periphery within which to work. The club meetings are posed as broad public gatherings with featured speakers from which we can contact many interested students and bring them closer to recruitment.

An Independent Organization - Part of a Common Movement with the LSA/LSO

The question has been posed: What relationship should exist between the revolutionary student organization and the vanguard party?

The LSA/LSO is the nucleus of the vanguard party in Canada and Quebec and we have declared ourselves to be in political agreement and solidarity with it. We are organizationally independent components of a common movement -- a movement which is united in the task of constructing the Trotskyist leadership necessary to lead the working Class and its allies to victory. The organizational independence of the YS/LJS is essential to our existence and success. Our experience has shown that radicalizing youth can best come to revolutionary socialism through our own independent organization.

The organizational independence of the YS/LJS stands in sharp contrast to reformist organizations like the Young Communist League and the New Democratic Youth or ultraleft groupings like SDS which are organizationally controlled to prevent them from developing a revolutionary perspective.

On the other hand our collaboration and ability to draw from the wealth of experience founded in decades of revolutionary struggle of the LSA/LSO has enabled us to put forward a correct strategy and program and to become the most effective revolutionary movement in the youth arena.

So while we are organizationally independent, we are in political solidarity with the LSA/LSO, stating our adherence to the objectives and the program of the LSA/LSO, We have declared that our aim is to build the revolutionary party in Canada and the contribution we have made is very significant. For example, nearly all the members of the Political Committee of the LSA/LSO were trained and developed through the YS/LJS.

The essence of our relationship to the LSA/LSO is that we give it unconditional support. That is not to say uncritical; but in no way do we have a tentative or ambivalent attitude to the LSA/LSO, threatening to withdraw our support from this nucleus of the revolutionary party in Canada and Quebec because we may disagree with a particular policy. We place no conditions on our support for the Canadian section of the Fourth International. And any differences that arise between the YS/LJS and the LSA/LSO are resolved through discussion and collaboration in the spirit of common purpose and unity.

Our relationship to the LSA/LSO is very important in that it is not only our link to the vanguard of the Canadian and Québécois working classes and its experience, but to the international party of socialist revolution -- the Fourth International. Because capitalism is a world system and because our class opponents are organized on a world scale, it is necessary to construct a world revolutionary party with a world-wide counter strategy to lead the people of the world in successful and conclusive struggle. Through our work to build the LSA/LSO we are making a valuable contribution to the construction of the Fourth International.

As a sympathizing youth organization, the identity of the YS/LJS to the Fourth International is through its identity with the Canadian section, the LSA/LSO. Loyalty to the Fourth International is not an abstract sentiment or adherence to some far-off organization. It is the day-to-day reality of building and defending the Canadian section of the Fourth International, the League for Socialist Action/-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. Our relationship to the LSA/LSO

makes us part of the historic process of constructing the International party.

A Binational Movement

In Quebec the struggle for national liberation is the central thrust of the revolutionary process. As revolutionary socialists we identify with the struggle of the oppressed Québécois nation for independence and we support it wholeheartedly. Our Québécois movement struggles for the leadership of the nationalist movement around a transitional program and strategy for independence and national liberation.

Does our support for the independence of Quebec necessitate the formation of a separate Quebec section of the Fourth International and a separate sympathizing youth section allied to this section?

The LSA/LSO answered this question in I970, explaining that our program for the nation - self-determination (in the case of Quebec political independence) cannot be confused with our concept of the party -- democratic centralism. It explains that because the bourgeoisie governs through national and multinational states, the key criterion governing the division of the world Trotskyist movement into distinct sections is the orientation of the struggle on a given area against a single centralized state apparatus: "In both Quebec and English Canada, the struggle remains oriented against the Canadian bourgeoisie, English and French, and their central state with its government in Ottawa. As long as Quebec is part of the Canadian state, it is in the interests of revolutionary socialists in both nations to participate in a single centralized combat party best able to coordinate our common struggle against a common centralized imperialist bourgeoisie which dominates both nations and maintains its rule, in part by seeking to foster and exploit national differences between workers of the two nations." ('For an Independent and Socialist Quebec,' page 29-30).

The central tasks of the socialist revolution in Canada and Quebec is the conquest of state power -- the state power in Ottawa now controlled by the Canadian bourgeoisie. The kind of party equipped to take on Ottawa will be a mass, democratically centralized, bi-national party. The arguments about the character of the party required to take state power hold for the YS/LJS. Our democratic centralist and bi-national (to become multinational with the emergence of the Acadien, native, black struggles, etc.) character are defined by our political assessment of the central tasks of the Canadian revolution -- the conquest and destruction of the centralized state power of the Canadian ruling class in Ottawa. For that reason, the structures and organizational character of the YS/LJS parallel those of the LSA/LSO. We are not a party but we are democratic centralist. We are not a party but we are a centralized, cross country movement.

We are not a party, but we have an analysis of the central tasks of the Canadian revolution which we share with the LSA/LSO. We are not a party, but we are part of a common movement with the LSA/LSO.

With a Program for the Student Revolt

In order to build a revolutionary student organization, an organization of students and in the leadership of student struggles, it is necessary to have a program. This program must address itself to the problems of youth, to the nature of the schools and to the dynamic of the student movement and its struggles. A cursory look at the graveyard of those who have tried to build a cross country student movement without such a program clearly verifies this.

Our transitional program for students is unique. It flows from years of experience in the struggles of the international student movement. It is a general orientation, a set of demands that is able to steer the student movement most sharply in playing its crucial role in the revolutionary process. It proceeds from the objective conditions and the existing level of understanding that students have, to lead them forward through the education they receive in the course of their struggles to the realization of the necessity for organizing for a new society. Our program is more than a definition of a goal, or a series of tactical recipes for the present conjuncture. It is a transitional program, composed of transitional and democratic demands that can bring the masses of students into a struggle which is headed towards the Red University and the linking of the student movement with the struggles of the working class and the other oppressed sectors of society, ultimately in a combined drive for the seizure of power.

Our program for students is a guide to action which goes beyond involving small numbers of students. Our program is a program for the masses of students. This is a main factor which distinguishes us from the numerous sectarian grouplets on campuses across Canada and Quebec. The YS/LJS is still a relatively small propaganda organization but our program is designed to overcome this problem and allow our propaganda group to take advantage of the agitational opportunities that confront It. And even with our small numbers we have been able to make important contributions to the student movement. As we become larger we will be able to play an even greater agitational role in moving large numbers of students into action.

Our mass orientation determines how we apply our program and test out what demands can best build a given struggle. The transitional program for students is not a static set of demands, fixed for all times. It is not designed to be swallowed whole or to be mechanistically imposed on all situations regardless of time, place and circumstance. It is like a tool kit. And all factors should be taken into consideration to determine what tools should be used.

The demands which are appropriate for a given period or situation are determined basically around the criterion of what can most effectively mobilize the masses of students into anti-capitalist struggle. We reject any concept that demands should be formulated on the basis of what is most likely to appeal to a handful of radicals on any campus or high school. We apply our program from the orientation of moving masses of students into confrontation with the institutions of capitalist society. We show these radicals what is the best way to build and lead the developing struggles.

With our program we have been able to intervene and give leadership to all the major areas of the radicalization - in the anti-war movement, the nationalist struggle in Quebec, the women's movement and the struggles for control of the universities and the schools.

An Activist Organization

The YS/LJS is a movement of activists -- of activists who come out of the struggles of students and of activists who in turn work daily to lead the student movement. We discuss and debate among ourselves, not for the intellectual stimulation involved, but to decide how to act - how to achieve our goals. We are youth and students who are part of the life of the student movement and its activism.

We organize the YS/LJS into campaigns to build the struggles that can move masses of youth into motion against the ruling class and its state. One of our key means is the tactic of the united front. That is, we unite with forces that are willing to build a unified movement around issues which students are starting to move on. For example, because the abortion issue is the

vehicle around which a mass feminist movement of women struggling against the state can be built, we are allocating much of our resources into building non-exclusionist coalitions of women who want to fight for the right for abortion. Or, through building united front coalitions against the war, we have been able to mobilize the greatest numbers of people against the war -- and in doing so, most effectively defend the Vietnamese revolution, while at the same time enabling the anti-war movement to most effectively play its crucial role in the current radicalization.

Putting our program into action means doing consistent work. We don't sit around and wait for some explosive conjuncture before we try and take our program to students. We work on a day to day basis, through lulls and through upsurges to build the student wings of the anti-capitalist movements of our era.

This is the most effective way to build the student movement and the only way to build a revolutionary socialist leadership that can win the confidence of students. Leaders are not those who declare themselves as leaders, but those who are rooted in the struggle and who have won the confidence of students. Trotsky wrote that the process of a new leadership emerging in the time of upsurge is not as simple as if "the proletariat were in a shoe store selecting a new pair of boots." The same is true in the student milieu. When a student upsurge occurs a revolutionary leadership won't simply emerge out of the blue. Those who can lead the student movement are those who are building the struggles consistently, setting the base for upsurges and gaining precious experience in the process.

For example it was because the YS/LJS had been the most consistent builders of the anti-war movement, that when Amchitka -- the biggest upsurge in the history of the English Canadian student movement - arose, we were able to lead it and direct it against imperialist war as a whole by including the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in the U.S. war machine. Or it was because members of the YS/LJS in West Kildonan high school in Winnipeg had built the student movement there on a day to clay basis, that students looked **to** us for leadership when the struggle broke out. And on the other hand the experience our comrades received over a long period was important in enabling them to give the leadership that lead to the major victory there, of forcing the administration to grant non-compulsory class attendance.

Theory and Action

But we are not just activists. Our program and strategy and activism are based on the experience of many decades of revolutionary struggle. Our day-to-day action is rooted in Marxist theory - theory which provides us with an analysis of the development and nature of class society from imperialist war to the role of education; which enables us to understand what is necessary to change society and how we can be effective, and which in turn is tested and developed through action.

It is through constantly pursuing theory and action at the same time, simultaneously, by every member of the revolutionary movement that we can continuously achieve a higher level of the unity of theory and action and consequently can be more effective in attaining our objectives. As well, developing an understanding of Trotskyist theory yields important by-products: it gives each of us perspective -- a higher understanding of how our day to day actions are part of the emancipation of

humanity -- and it enables us to handle our opponents etc.

It is essential that we maintain an effective educational process in the YS/LJS where each member is developing theoretically on a day to day basis. This process takes a number of forms, including theoretical classes, public forums, educationals in local meetings, highly political reports to meetings, etc. As well the acquisition of Marxist theory is largely something that must be done through individual study. We emphasize the importance of each member of the YS/LJS taking time to read and study revolutionary politics. Central to this are not only the writings of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon, etc. and the pamphlets and books published by our movement on different aspects of our theory but our ongoing publications, especially the *Young Socialist, Labor Challenge* and the *International Socialist Review (publication of the SWP -- Web Ed.)*

Recruiting to the YS/LJS

In broad historical terms the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement depends on factors beyond our control -- the ebbs and flows of the international class struggle. In a period of radicalization like the present our growth hinges on our ability to understand, identify with and develop correct programs for the various new movements and forms of struggle that arise. The basis for building the YS/LJS is through deep involvement in the developing mass struggles of students. So we build the main anti-capitalist movements of our era because we know that our intervention with a revolutionary socialist program, analysis and experience is ultimately essential to their success. On the other hand it is precisely by building these struggles that we can most effectively build the YS/L JS, and with the LSA/LSO play a key role in the revolutionary transformation of society.

For example, this spring the YS/LJS became heavily involved in building the student wing of the movement for abortion law repeal. Hundreds of women who had never before considered themselves as feminists, radicals or socialists participated in the campaign. As they debated the opponents of women's rights, organized referenda and demonstrations, distributed petitions and came to the cross-Canada abortion conference in Winnipeg, they came to a higher understanding about the extent and causes of their oppression. Many began to question other aspects of this society, began reading our press and became open to socialist answers. A number went on to join the YS/LJS.

They joined the YS/LJS rather than some other "socialist" organization because they saw that we are the most consistent builders of the abortion campaign and the struggle for women's liberation; because they saw that our program is in tune with the needs of women and could lead their struggles forward; because they were impressed by our relevance, our effectiveness and dedication; because we were able to go through an intense political experience with them and through our press, forums and discussions show them the depth and correctness of our overall analysis.

In all, the process of recruiting is the process of taking our program to students, working to build and lead the student movement, and winning the confidence and respect of students.

Within this overall perspective we seek to maximize our growth through a variety

of socialist propaganda activities. To build the YS/LJS into the mass revolutionary socialist youth movement we need, will require not only that we convince youth that we are the best activists but also the best theoreticians. We want to show radicalizing students that we have the best explanation of why socialism is necessary and possible, as well as the only valid analysis of how it can be won.

The main tool we have for propagation of socialist ideas is our press. Over the years our press has been at the centre of building the revolutionary movement. It has reached out to many more youth than we could have ever hoped to do as individuals expounding our views on immediate issues and giving them our whole program. Many of us came into contact with the YS/LJS through our press and the well rounded political presentations and polemics convinced many of us to join, as well our wide range of socialist literature that we have distributed to students using literature tables has been important in winning many youth to our ideas.

Of course, our press is an agitator as well as a propagandist enabling us to more effectively influence the course of the mass movements. For example, the supplement in the March issue of *Young Socialist*, "The Wright Report and You" virtually became a manual for struggle against the cutbacks in educational spending.

Recently we have been able to extensively supplement our socialist propaganda activities such as classes, forums, socialist students conferences, parties, and so on with highly attractive and educational cross-country tours. The tours of Sean Kenny -- a leader of the IRA -- and Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group in Britain, speaking on the struggle in BanglaDesh, went a long way in debunking the myths generated through the bourgeois press and as well established the YS/LJS even more firmly as the defenders of the international revolution. The Ernest Mandel tour has had a visibly powerful impact on the student left, popularizing Marxism and the Trotskyist movement. And several tours in Canada and Quebec with leaders of the YS/LJS were useful in explaining our strategy and program to students. As our resources and influence grow we will be able to use cross-country tours even more effectively.

The propagation of our ideas is not done in a vacuum: it is done through struggle, not only through struggle with spokesmen for the ruling class, but through fights to win youth to our program in the mass movements and through debate and confrontation with our political opponents on the left. Our opponents across the country vary significantly as there is no other cross country radical movement in the student milieu, but in every area there are strong opponents. Now when thousands of radicalizing youth are looking for answers, more than ever, it is our challenge to take these opponents head on. At every opportunity we want to confront our opponents with revolutionary Marxism -- not only while building the mass movements, but at opponents forums, public lectures, at students' council meetings, etc. And we want to creatively and aggressively project the YS/LJS as **the** alternative for those who are serious about changing the world.

Democracy in Decision Making, Unity in action

As the New Left so clearly illustrated, no revolutionary organization can survive as an agglomeration of programmatically diverse elements. In order to build and lead the student movement, win the confidence of students and bring the best militants into the YS/LJS, we have to fight in a united way. For this reason we strive for

programmatic homogeneity. This does not mean that we are a monolithic organization which tolerates no differences such as the Stalinist Young Communist League or the Maoists, but an organization in which there is basic agreement and an essentially common understanding as to what our tasks are.

Democratic centralism is an organizational tool which we employ to enable us to be an effective political force. It was developed by Lenin while building the Bolshevik party in Russia. Faced with the actuality of the basic contradictions of capitalism which put revolutionary solutions on the agenda, and having developed an understanding of the necessity of the conscious intervention of a vanguard in the revolutionary process, Lenin developed an organizational form which could enable the vanguard to organize and intervene in the struggle as an effective political force. It contains two components: democracy which enables the vanguard to most correctly decide on revolutionary strategy and tactics, and centralism, which enables it to be united and effective in its interventions.

We are a democratic movement not because we think democracy is a "good idea" in the abstract, but because this is the best way to arrive at a correct decision. "None of us is as smart as all of us." No single individual or small group can possibly have the experience and wealth of knowledge that we require to formulate our overall program and strategy. Our organizing manual explains: "Only through involving the entire activist membership in decision making are we able to make adequate decisions by bringing all the varied experiences of comrades to bear on the problem at hand. Democracy does not guarantee that we will not go off the track, but without democracy we would certainly not develop a correct program.

On the other hand unity in action is essential if we are to be at all effective. Once we have decided our course of action we are united under an elected leadership to carry it out. Fundamental to the concept of democratic centralism is majority rule. That is, after a democratic decision is made, the entire movement is united in implementing this decision in action. Through a central elected leadership which has the confidence of the movement and is empowered and instructed by a convention to insure the implementation of the decisions of the membership, we can effectively apply our program on a day to day basis.

Democracy and centralism are not warring opposites that we must struggle to reconcile as we function. Rather it is true to say that in a revolutionary movement "You can't have one without the other" and in fact, each enables the other to operate. Without centralism, democratic votes would be meaningless except for the abstract value of knowing what someone thinks about something, since everyone would do what he or she wanted anyway. Centralism ensures that democracy is carried out: that the decisions of the majority are acted upon; that a minority is not able to frustrate the decisions of the majority; that different members of the movement are not working at cross purposes. On the other hand, the voluntary discipline and conscious self acting membership required for centralist functioning are possible only through a full and democratic process of discussion. As well a revolutionary leadership can hold the confidence of the membership only when it is democratically elected and responsible to them.

Membership in our movement is voluntary. It is based on a willingness to be self-

disciplined and loyal to the YS/LJS. The basis of loyalty is an understanding that the YS/LJS is an essential component of the Canadian and Québécois revolution, and a sincere desire and commitment to build the YS/LJS. It doesn't mean an absence of critical appraisal or disagreement, but that all criticisms and actions are formulated and presented in such a way as to improve the movement, not to undermine it. It means a willingness to accept decisions of the movement and carry them into the struggle. lt means defending the YS/LJS at all times. It means a dedication to contribute whatever one can financially, to sell our press, and generally direct all political actions towards building the YS/LJS and advancing the work we have decided to undertake.

This is the only way we can be an effective political force. An organization without internal discipline is fine if its purpose is to distribute cookies to welfare lineups. But a movement whose purpose is to help lead the oppressed in a momentous struggle to decisively defeat the most powerful, ruthless, and centralized ruling class in the history of humanity, and yet does not base itself on the principles of democratic centralism, is simply not serious.

Although we strive for political homogeneity it is quite natural in a movement that is in the centre of the youth radicalization and all its different trends and tendencies, for differences to arise within the YS/LJS. Some comrades may decide that certain differences are serious enough to warrant the formation of an ideological tendency, documenting a position(s) they have formulated which differs from that of the movement as a whole, and then endeavouring to win the movement to their ideas. Through a properly conducted discussion of differences in which the whole movement participates in the discussion, the differences can be resolved, the membership educated and the whole movement can benefit immensely. Differences in the YS/LJS are best resolved in an atmosphere of open democratic discussion of mutual respect and of common purpose.

The right to dissent is protected very carefully in the YS/LJS. Our democratic centralist norms and traditions insure this. Again this is not because of some fetishist concept of democracy but because of its importance in keeping the YS/LJS on the right track.

Developing Revolutionary Socialist Leaders

The revolutionary student organization must above all be a leadership organization. The development of revolutionary socialist leaders is key to the independence of the youth organization, to its ability to win the best elements of the student movement, in fact to all aspects of the combined aim of building the revolutionary socialist leadership of the student movement and the cadres of the vanguard party.

The central task of the YS/LJS is the development of revolutionary leaders; to develop cadres who can lead the student movement in playing its crucial role in the revolutionary process: to develop cadres who can lead the YS/LJS towards our goal; and in all to develop the Trotskyist cadres who will devote their lives to building the revolutionary party.

Developing revolutionists are trained and tested in the struggles of students. As

we take our program into the student movement and fight for its adoption, we are developing ourselves as revolutionary cadres - whether building a Student Mobilization Committee against the war, defending the Arab revolution at a lit table, intervening in a women's studies course, fighting to win student support for a teachers strike in Quebec, or chairing a mass rally of 10,000 students protesting against the U.S. war machine and its Amchitka bomb.

Part of this process, is building the leadership we require **within** the YS/LJS. We endeavour consciously to develop a strong, highly effective, politically astute leadership in the YS/LJS because it is essential to our success and because it is central to our development of cadres. We want all comrades to develop as leaders of the movement. We look for every opportunity to place before willing comrades the challenges they need to develop their confidence and experience. We link education to all aspects of our work so that all comrades develop as rounded revolutionists. In general, a key task of the YS/LJS leadership is to replace itself as rapidly as possible (while of course maintaining its continuity). To be a leader of the YS/LJS one must simply show a willingness and a potential to learn and an eagerness to build and to lead the movement.

The continuity in the rapidly evolving and changing leadership of the YS/LJS is maintained through our program, through rapidly bringing in and training new leaders as part of a process, and through our day to day collaboration with the LSA/LSO.

We have a concept of leadership that is different from any of our opponents on the left. Our conception of leadership is that of a **collective leadership**. Through this we can build the most effective leadership and at the same time most efficiently and thoroughly develop revolutionary leaders.

A collective leadership is a **team**; which consists of revolutionary socialist youth tied together on the basis of a program of revolutionary Marxism; which is composed of leaders who work together in very close collaboration holding a sense of responsibility and a common understanding of the role of leadership; which has a strength, not in the outstanding ability of its individual members, but from its character in combining and balancing the relative strengths and weaknesses of individuals in the leadership as a whole; which has a division of labor that develops the latent abilities of comrades while at the same time not burdening them with challenges beyond their potential; which works continuously to bring in new leaders as part of a process of replacing itself while at the same time maintaining its continuity. We work daily to build this type of leadership on a local, national and bi-national level.

The degree to which we can be effective is not only a function of our program -- it is a function of our leadership. We elect a cross country leadership to insure that the decisions made by the movement are carried out and to give political direction to the YS/LJS between meetings of the entire movement. We expect the leadership to interpret the convention decisions; guide the movement in our big political campaigns; assess conjunctural changes in the political scene and direct the YS/LJS in making the appropriate responses; detect and correct any problems in the movement; direct the process of developing revolutionary socialist cadre; and in general lead the YS/LJS in our cross country intervention, in our growth and in consolidation.

One central aspect to this is the concept of a professional revolutionary. Lenin developed this concept out of a realization that the revolutionary party cannot be lead by amateurs, no matter how gifted, who can make themselves available to the movement after hours. This also applies to the YS/LJS. Our goal determines that we require professional leaders who are sustained by the movement and therefore who can be selected with no regard to their individual financial circumstances, but entirely on their ability to lead, their potential for development and their dedication to the movement. This is not only important for building the YS/LJS but it enables a number of developing revolutionists to go through an intense political experience whereby they can develop the skills necessary to become a leader of the revolutionary party. As a result we strive to bring as many members on staff for the movement as our resources will permit.

Our concept of professionalism extends beyond that of the professional revolutionary to the whole movement. We want our whole operation from the central office of the YS/LJS to a fraction in a local to be a highly organized, structured and efficient operation with a well worked out, precise division of labor. It is through increasing the professionalism of the YS/LJS that we can increase the involvement of the whole movement in its work and decision making and more effectively accomplish the very serious tasks which face us.

Since the last convention the YS/LJS has undergone a very significant development of revolutionary leaders. Across the movement new layers of developing revolutionists are moving out to lead the YS/LJS. These comrades come out of the student movement; out of the abortion referenda campaigns we led; out of the Amchitka upsurge, the nationalist movement in Quebec, the struggles against the cutbacks.

This convention must meet the challenge of bringing this new layer of developing comrades fully into the leadership of the YS/LJS, and moving the more experienced on for work in the LSA/LSO.

The growth of leadership in the YS/LJS is the most significant indication of the development of our movement as a whole. We have made significant advances in building the YS/LJS - in winning hegemony in the student movement, in bringing the best militants of the current youth radicalization into the revolutionary movement and developing them as Trotskyist cadres.

The growth of the YS/LJS as an independent, revolutionary socialist student organization embedded on the campuses and schools and in the struggles of students is a key component of the building of the revolutionary vanguard party in this country, upon which the fate of humanity rests.

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Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

Volume 8

Number 4

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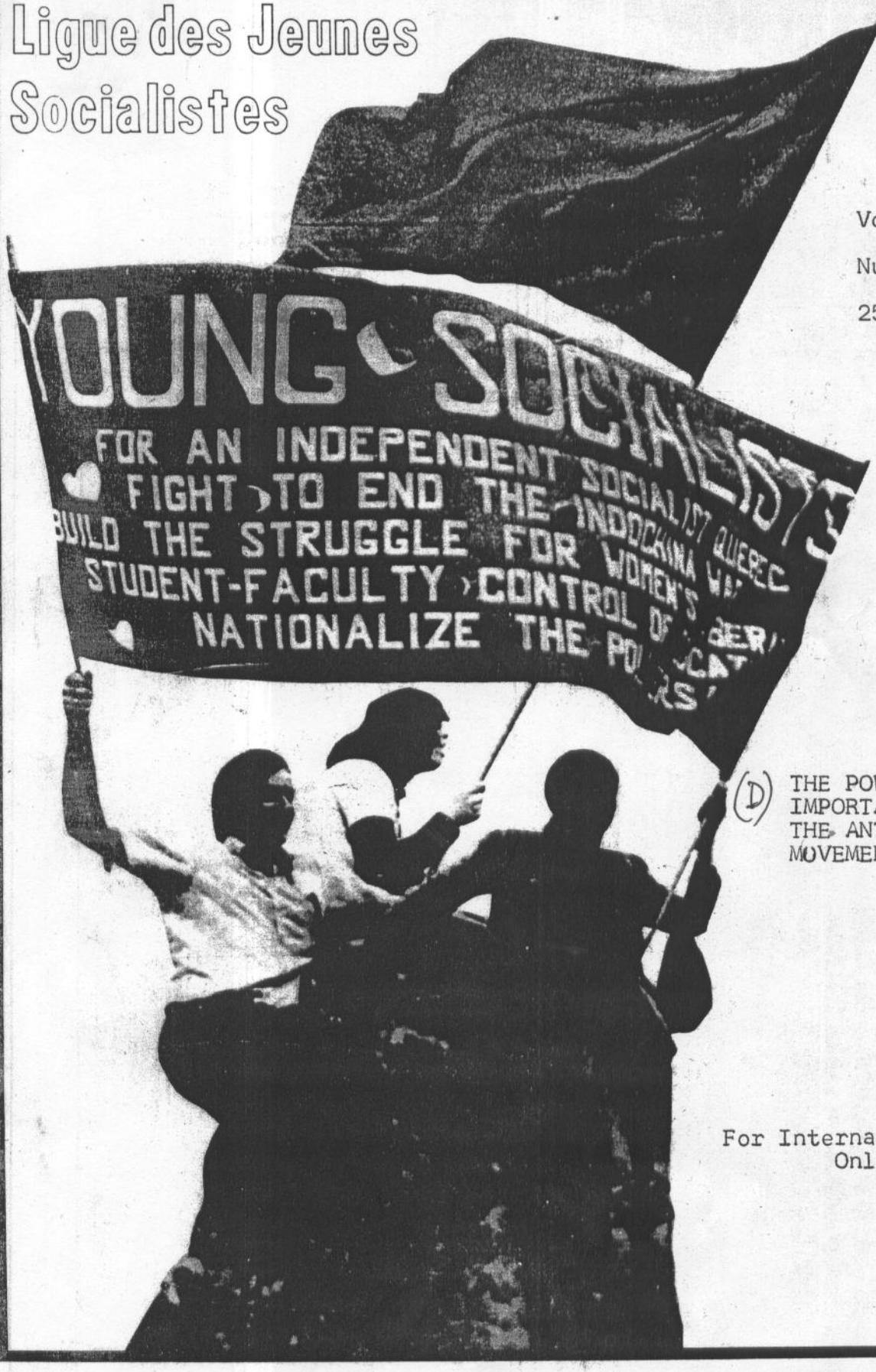

(D) THE POWER AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT (16pp)

For Internal Circulation Only

This is one of a series of five draft resolutions submitted by the Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes for the 1972 YS/LJS convention to be held at the University of Waterloo, August 26-28.

These resolutions along with other contributions written by members of the YS/LJS from across Canada and Quebec are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young Socialists from across the country are invited to attend the convention. Inquiries can be sent to the YS/LJS Central Office, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ont.

Since the end of the second world war, which weakened the once-powerful European colonizers and empire holders, there has been a continuous unfolding of major struggles for national liberation. The peoples of Asia, the Indian sub-continent, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America -- "the third world" -- have risen again and again in revolutionary struggle against their foreign exploiters and oppressors. Over this period the most intense and far reaching of these conflicts have been waged against the United States -- the world super-power that has donned the spurs, pith helmet, and kharki of its European predecessors; the capitalist state now in charge of defending imperialist interests on a global scale.

The United States and world capitalism are now faced with a direct challenge to their very existence on the whole planet. They are faced with the dynamic of permanent revolution that has already ripped one third of the world from their hands and has placed socialism on the agenda everywhere else. Less and less are the oppressed nationalities of the world content to accept partial liberation as a solution to their problems. National struggles against foreign regimes inescapably raise the question of who is to rule, of who is to control the land, resources and industry -- the masses or a national bourgeoisie. The dynamic of the struggle is to go beyond the national and democratic tasks and move forward to the construction of a socialist society. This is the process that uplifted the masses of China and Korea to victory two decades ago and that began in Cuba in 1958.

The United States, as cop of the world, has marshalled all of its powers to block the unfolding of the world revolution. It has drowned the growing protests and social unsurges with a copious supply of marines, napalm, bombs and blood. This has been the story of the last twenty-five years, and each chapter of this history bears bitter memories of defeat for the downtrodden, and of the prolongation of suffering and exploitation. Korea, from 1950 to 1953 is one chapter; Guatemala in 1954 another, Iran in 1958; the Congo in 1964; the massive invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, and then in Panama a year later. The United States has also intervened in Greece and Turkey; used force in the Phillipines on and off for the last century; and occupied Okinawa in Japan against the will of the Japanese people since 1945.

But now there is a new chapter that is different and still incomplete. It started in May, 1954 at Dien Bien Phu with the overthrow of the French colonialist regime in Vietnam. After the division of Vietnam and disarming of the Vietnamese by the imperialists and their Stalinist collaborators in Geneva the United States moved in with its guns and intrigues to replace defeated French imperialism. It looked very typical, like a broken record that had played over and over again. But this was a new tune!

The dogged determination of the Vietnamese peoples, their heroism, their defiance, and their will to win freedom at any sacrifice has issued the greatest challenge to the United States and international capitalism in this epoch. The failure of U.S. imperialism to win a military victory in Vietnam has been a major setback at the hands of a crudely equipped peasant population.

No longer can the United States shake its mighty fist and go unchallenged! It HAS been challenged and its armies beaten! The heroism of the Vietnamese is now an example and unparalleled inspiration to the oppressed of the entire world, and their struggle has radically altered the forces of revolution and reaction on a global scale. It has awakened the youth of the world who have identified with the fight of the Vietnamese peoples, and have been inspired to take up the struggle against injustice in their own countries. It is the radicalizing youth of the world, inspired by the Vietnamese revolution, who have taken up the struggle against international capitalism and the crimes it perpetuates in its death agony.

Canada's Role in the War

not quite true: defend interests in Vietnam

It is in the interests of the Canadian capitalist class ~~junior partner of U.S. imperialists~~ - to defend U.S. economic interests and their consequences. The Canadian ruling class, with imperialist interests of its own, including the internal colony of Quebec, feels quite at ease in this role. ~~Since the second world war and the real expansion of U.S. imperialism, Canada has been directly incorporated into this imperialist giant.~~ It is part of NATO, a military alliance directed against the workers' states of Eastern Europe, which provides a foundation for the export of U.S. military bases and diplomatic power over both Europe and Canada. It is an active participant of NORAD, an agreement used by the U.S. for nuclear weapons build-up and research against the Soviet Union, and which gave birth to the testing at Amchitka.

As revealed by the Pentagon Papers, Canada has used its position in the ICC (an ostensibly neutral body) to act as an agent of the U.S. - to carry the blackmail threats to Hanoi that preceded the bombing of North Vietnam in the Johnson era, and as minority reports in the commission reveal, to provide the rationale for the legitimacy of the forced division of the country into North and South Vietnam.

Canadian capitalist politicians use every opportunity to apologize for U.S. aggression in Vietnam under the guise of seeking a "peaceful solution" to the conflict - a solution that would continue the division and subjugation of the Vietnamese peoples under the domination of the U.S. Ottawa has offered the services of Canadian "peace keeping" troops (trained in anti-guerrilla warfare) and the services of diplomatic mediation in the style of J. Blair Seaborn and the ICC.

Canada also carries on a lucrative arms trade with U.S. imperialism under the "Defense Production Sharing Agreements." Canada specializes in production of aviation equipment and parts that are presently in use by American bombers and fighters over Vietnam. The agreement itself is a division of labour -- a division in dealing death, which makes the U.S. war machine more efficient and productive. Canada also provides the U.S. with key resources that are indespensible for the war industry and for relieving the burden that this places on the U.S. economy. For example, if Canada withheld the nickel it supplies to the U.S., it would "break the back of the U.S. war effort," as Trudeau himself admitted.

But Canada is involved even more directly in the war than this. Recent actions at Suffield, Alberta have exposed the chemical and biological war research that our government is undertaking on behalf of the U.S. This research, also conducted in 35 Canadian universities, has helped develop the defoliants that have destroyed much of the ecology of Southeast Asia, and the napalm that has tortured its civilian population.

The Escalation of the War

Although the Nixon administration has been forced to withdraw most of the U.S. ground forces from Vietnam, it has continually escalated the war through bombing in its attempt to win a military victory. U.S. munitions exploded in Indo-China from 1965 to 1971 amounted to 26 billion pounds - the equivalent of 450 Hiroshimas, or an average of 584 lbs. of explosives per person. And since 1971 the bombing has increased to its highest-ever level in the entire war. The June 23 Militant reports that "Three B-52s can obliterate an area more than half a mile wide and nearly two miles long. There are more than 100 B-52s and over 1000 U.S. warplanes altogether in the forces now striking North and South Vietnam daily."

Besides sheer tonnage of bombs being dropped, the U.S. attack on civilians is more ferocious and sophisticated than ever before. The Vietnamese now face "smart bombs" guided by laser beams and pilot-less drone bombers directed by computors and sensors - the ultimate in automated genocide. As well, anti-personnel bombs containing nylon pellets that bounce into their victims and kill or paralyze them but cannot be detected with X-rays are being used. According to U.S. Defense Secretary Laird, this killing and destruction could go on at the present level for at least another five years. In the last few months the Nixon war machine has also mined North Vietnam's ports and destroyed other key transportation arteries, cutting off North Vietnam from most outside aid, and attempting to starve out the Vietnamese people and to break their will to resist. In an even further intensification of viciousness and ferocity by the U.S., their bombers are now dropping their pay-loads on the dikes in North Vietnam, that when severed would flood the rich agricultural areas which could bring starvation and death to upwards of fifteen million people. From all this it is very clear that the United States will stop at nothing in their attempt to win a victory for imperialism in S.E. Asia.

The Stalinist Betrayal

In addition to this unparalleled frontal assault the Vietnamese have been exposed to a sinister stab in the back from the Stalinist bureaucrats in both Moscow and Peking. These two centers in the workers' states were, ironically, the only Places in the world that Nixon could visit without being met by massive protests. And while he, and so-called revolutionary leaders toasted one another, while they traded off Cadillacs and Panda bears, the bombs continued to rain down on Vietnam. Thousands and thousands of innocent people continued to be slaughtered, and the bomb craters, which are now more numerous than on the moon, continue to spread like smallpox over the Vietnamese countryside.

In describing the role that Peking and Moscow are now playing in the war, I.F. Stone stated that "...the chief running dogs of U.S. imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-Lai

"Without the enormous resolution and courage of the Vietnamese what would Moscow and Peking have to offer Nixon, what would they have to sell? Peking bought out is own admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese People. The same commodity - in such plentiful supply - has brought Nixon to Moscow."

Premier Chou En-Lai is now openly hinting at a settlement like the 1953 arrangement in Korea, a deal that has kept the Korean people divided and allowed U.S. forces and their puppet government to remain in the South.

If Moscow and Peking have their way, the liberation forces in Vietnam will once again lay down their arms and the military dictatorship in Saigon or another U.S.-imposed regime will take up the reins of power - the reins of landlordism, U.S. imperialism, and exploitation. This is the price that the Vietnamese are expected to pay - after eighteen years of struggle and sacrifice, to appease the warmakers in Washington and Ottawa, and to win "peaceful co-existence".

Peking has harped on the scarcity of military materials available to aid Vietnam, but somehow scraped up $300,000,000 worth of arms for West Pakistan butcher, Zalfikar Ali Bhutto. And the USSR, second only to the U.S. in military might, has given ten times more aid to capitalist Egypt than it has to North Vietnam, a revolutionary workers' state. The Soviet Union and China combined give only 1/90 as much aid to the liberation struggle as the U.S. gives to the Thieu regime in Saigon.

If Moscow and Peking were really serious about helping the Vietnamese revolution, they could expose the aims of U.S. imperialism of defeating the colonial revolution and in encircling and conquering the workers' states. Moscow could play a major role in arming China with a nuclear arsenal. The Soviet Union could rush the best material and military aid to North Vietnam; it could use its fleet of minesweepers, the largest in the world, to re-open North Vietnam's ports. It could equip the revolution with the best anti-aircraft defense system and a force of MIG 23 fighter jets unequalled anywhere in the world. If all this were done, not a single U.S. warplane could stray over North Vietnam without being shot down; not a single U.S. ship could violate Vietnamese waters or fire shells onto shore. The bombing would be stopped and the war effort would fall apart. There would be nothing left facing the liberation forces except for Thieu's trembling ARVN mercenaries, who were mauled and beaten in the spring Vietnamese offensive. And finally, Moscow and Peking could have launched an international campaign to defend the people of all South East Asia. By mobilizing communist parties around the world. They could have taken the lead in building the worldwide antiwar movement. Through mobilizing masses of people in defense of the Vietnamese revolution they could alter the relationship of forces on a world scale to favor the Vietnamese. Instead China

and the USSR have formed a de facto united front to force a settlement on the Vietnamese. They have blunted the edge of every Vietnamese victory by talking about deals and concessions, and have openly sabotaged the movement to defend the Vietnamese revolution. The Moscow and Peking bureaucrats, as in Bangla Desh, Ceylon, Indonesia, and so many other cases, are once again placing their own narrow bureaucratic interests before the cause of world revolution.

The International Antiwar Movement

As it now stands the people of Vietnam have only one ally against the U.S. warmakers that gives unqualified support to the Vietnamese right to self-determination and unconditionally demands that the U.S. immediately get out of Vietnam: the international antiwar movement.

The movement against the war by students, national minorities, G.I.'s and women in the United States has been the key force in winning substantial victories over the past period. Through crystalizing the sentiment against the war the U.S. antiwar movement has become the most powerful anti-imperialist force next to the Vietnamese themselves. It forced Nixon out of Cambodia in May 1970 and prevented an invasion of Laos by U.S. Marines in the spring of 1971; it has forced the Pentagon to substantially step-down its defoliation of South Vietnam. And mass action in the streets and within the army itself, has forced U.S. imperialism to withdraw close to half a million G.I.s from Indochina. By the U.S. government's own admission in the Pentagon Papers, the antiwar movement has tied one of their hands forcing them to stay an even more murderous assault on the Indochinese people.

The antiwar movement outside the U.S. cannot place as much direct pressure on the American capitalist class, but it is a vital force in the world wide defense of the Vietnamese revolution. The power of this movement has been directed against the complicity of various capitalist states in the U.S. war. It has already succeeded, through mass mobilizations, in forcing both the Australian and New Zealand governments to withdraw their troops from Vietnam.

The international antiwar movement also flows out of the centrality of the Vietnamese revolution to all of world politics, for it questions the very existence of a whole social order and the status quo on a global scale. Vietnam is the battleground of this order, which is prepared to sink all of humanity with it. It is a struggle of the young against the old, of protest against reaction, of revolution against the status quo. Vietnam is the culmination and symbol of struggles around the world to lift the leaden heel of class society from the throats of all oppressed people. A victory there would be a tremendous lift to all other struggles around the world.

The defeat of the Vietnamese would be a catastrophe for all but the rich and privileged. It would certify the superiority of imperialism and strike a blow against all those struggling against it. And although this would not reverse the current radicalization, it would cause a deep

demoralization and a significant setback.

This is what the worldwide antiwar movement is all about; this is why it is so crucial. It is shown most clearly by the defiance of the world's youth; their revolt against capitalism, the system that crushes our freedom, our creativity and our humanity. Our struggle is playing a big role in deciding in what capitalism can and can't do in the future and even whether or not it will exist. Because of the war in Vietnam and the inspiration that the Vietnamese have given to the world's youth, the U.S. will not again be able to intervene on the same scale as Vietnam. Oppressed people all over the world will be able to raise their struggles to a higher, more powerful and more revolutionary plane. All of this hinges on the Vietnamese's struggle and the movement against the war.

The Antiwar Movement in Canada

So what is Canada's place in all this and just what has and can the Canadian antiwar movement play in this process? The history of the antiwar movement in Canada is a record of active opposition by thousands of Canadian youth to the genocidal assault of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

The antiwar movement began with education work -- teachins on major campuses across the country which brought more and more students into the movement and its activities. In the fall of 1965 the antiwar movement was carried into the highschools through SAWV (Students Against the War in Vietnam), which has mobilized thousands of high school students across Canada. Less than a year later Canadian students had established themselves as the base of the antiwar movement building the International Day of Protest called by the antiwar forces in the U.S. Since then the antiwar movement in Canada has drawn its major support and inspiration from the universities and high schools., Canadian youth confronted Trudeau with Canada's complicity in 1968, setting the basis for the largest antiwar demonstrations ever in 1969, and rallying dramatically to the murders at Kent State and Jackson with mass demonstrations in May of 1970. Since then students have responded again and again to each major U.S. escalation and have organized coordinated actions of the international antiwar movement.

Student revulsion against the war in Vietnam provided a focus for the growing youth radicalization in Canada and for the Canadian student revolt. The war in Vietnam opened up a broad discussion on the nature of this society and set the basis for organizing to change it. This was the beginning of independent student action in Canadian universities and high schools. Students were willing to challenge pro-war administrations and officialdoms and they won important battles against them, such as the right to demonstrate and the right to read and distribute antiwar literature. It was out of this movement that the radicals, student leaders and future revolutionaries came. They were the most outspoken and the ones most committed to acting against the war. If we continue to follow this process we can trace the whole radicalization of Canadian students and the growth of the Young Socialists.

As the war continued and escalated, student action became even bolder. Students began to make important generalizations about their role in society and their oppression as a social layer -- generalizations that included demands for the right to organize against the war in the high schools, to organize politically, for free speech and raising the question of who should run the schools. The antiwar movement showed students the key principle that will be crucial in all future aspects of the Canadian student movement and the coming Canadian revolution -- their power when in motion, and their power in united mass action.

Amchitka and Canadian Nationalism

The biggest experience and action of the antiwar movement recently was the massive upsurge against the Amchitka bomb blast. The revolt against the Amchitka test was spurred by the deepening Canadian nationalist sentiment which has a profoundly anti-imperialist thrust. The antiwar movement has played an important role in developing this widespread sentiment against U.S. imperialism in Canada, giving it a focus and a sharp political expression and linking it to the central struggle between the forces of imperialism and revolution -- the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination. The antiwar movement has led the way in showing <u>how</u> to struggle, the power of mass action in the streets.

Amchitka also showed very clearly that the nationalist sentiment is far broader than the organized antiwar movement. The spontaneous demonstrations across the country involved tens of thousands of youth and affected very wide layers of the population. In many areas where the antiwar movement has no organized form there were massive demonstrations (5,000 at the St. Lawrence bridge, etc.).

The antiwar movement, the most organized and explicit movement against U.S. imperialism, intervened in the Amchitka upsurge in order to link the Amchitka test to the war and to expose the Canadian government's complicity in the U.S. war machine. In some areas the war became a major issue in the demonstrations and the central slogan was "Stop Amchitka, Stop the War." In other areas, such as Vancouver, the question of the war remained very peripheral. While the war was not initially an issue in the Amchitka upsurge it was widely accepted and through the antiwar movement the YS/LJS played a key role in raising the political level of the actions, directing them against the actions of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and to some extent against Canada's role as partner in the crimes of imperialism.

Amchitka marked a new stage in the tasks and possibilities of the antiwar movement. It was the biggest political demonstration in Canadian history involving over 100,000 students and workers, and it was directed against U.S. imperialism. Amchitka challenges and opens new possibilities to the Canadian antiwar movement which has persistently exposed the horrors, the visciousness and the deep cynicism that lies behind the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the military intrigues of the Pentagon. When Nixon trumpeted about freedom and democracy, and defense of the "free"

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"The impact of the antiwar movement on the radicalization in English Canada was never more clearly [illegible] shown than in the Amchitka actions in the fall of 1971.

"Spearheaded by high school actions in B.C. tens of thousands of students took to the streets to protest the Amchitka bomb test. Students travelled for hours to block bridges and border crossings leading to the U.S. Classes were cancelled in universities and buses rented to take students to the demonstrations. Fifty thousand B.C. workers downed their tools and the Ontario Federation of Labor adjourned its convention to protest at the U.S. consulate. While radio stations and wellknown personalities tried circulating petitionsc and telegrams students overwhelmingly took to the streets shouting "Blast Nixn,not Amchitka". In Toronto the majority of the 8,000 demonstrators who took over University Ave chanted "Stop Amchitka, Stop the War".

"In general the protest had the character of being antibomb antiwar pacifist proecology. But the slogans of the demonstrations and their militancy and the fact that they swept across the country far from the immediately threatened B.C. coast, revealed that many students saw this as just another arrogant and destructive act by the U.S. war machine. In this sense, it was the long work of the antiwar movement in exposing U.S. agression in South East Asia which laid the basis for these mass militant actions.

"While no organized group or tendency led the entire upsurge, the antiwar movment under the leadership of the upsurge Trotskyists, was best able to intervene and in most areas its committees and activists organized or its the demonstrations. The antiwar movement was able to deepen the anger and revulsion which students felt and raise the political level of the protest by linking Amchitka to the war in Vietnam and thus to the overall crimes of U.S. imperialism.

"But the antiwar movement had a much greater difficulty in pointing out the complicity of the Canadian government in these aggressive acts--even the simple fact that Amchitka was a test under the NORAD alliance of which Ca[illegible] U.S. sentiment and the Canadian nationalsim f[illegible]

world in connection with Amchitka, Canadian students refused to believe him.

The nationalist sentiment can be most effectively expressed in action through the antiwar movement. One of our main tasks is to bring this sentiment into the antiwar movement to further educate and politicize the deepening radicalization.

The demand that Ottawa break from U.S. domination -- a domination which makes Canada a partner to the crimes in Vietnam -- now takes on a sharper meaning. The military treaties and arms production agreements that Canada has with the U.S. can be used to expose both U.S. domination of Canada and Canadian capitalists' part in the war. The antiwar movement can show how Washington uses Canada as a testing ground for its bombs and poisons, like Amchitka, under the NORAD agreement. NORAD is up for renewal next spring and the antiwar movement must carry a big campaign in exposing the completely reactionary, antihuman character of this agreement.

And the antiwar movement must confront every prowar politician who dares to step outside the safety of their guilt-lined parlours in Ottawa. We must show the boot-licking servile nature they hold to the U.S. and their statements on the war and Canada-U.S. relations. The antiwar movement can show the students that Canada will not escape the Pentagon death-grip through Trudeau-Nixon treaties and deals, and that the best defender of Canadian autonomy -- of a national break with all these crimes -- is the Canadian antiwar movement.

All of the sentiment against U.S. domination of Canada (the resources sellout, domination of the university, etc) is fuel for the antiwar movement which can direct the struggle against U.S. imperialism more sharply. In this struggle the anti war movement can expose the role of the Canadian ruling class which has tied its destiny to U.S. imperialism. By rooting itself to the Canadian nationalist sentiment, and by raising its political consciousness in struggle, the antiwar movement in Canada can tap immense new resources in active defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

Quebec

The situation in Quebec has been somewhat different than English Canada because of the centrality and depth of the nationalist movement. While the national struggle has overshadowed the antiwar movement, actions against the war have been important in defending the Vietnamese right to self-determination, and educating the student and labor movements. For this reason, the two main demands of the anti war movement are still key for Quebec. "U.S. Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity" can most effectively mobilize the masses to confront both the Canadian and American governments. As well, other slogans such as "Le Vietnam aux Vietnamiens le Quebec aux Quebecois" help link the sentiment against U.S. and Canadian domination of Quebec to the central international conflict of our era. They point out the similarities of Vietnamese and Quebecois oppression - raising the nationalist sentiment in Quebec to a higher plane.

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The Impact on the Working Class

Students are usually the first to move on big social issues. Because of their aggressiveness in action, their challenges to the status quo -- they can swing other social layers to their side. This is the experience of the worldwide youth radicalization and it is the reason why we do not discard students, as some other leftists do, as petty-bourgeois meddlers and unserious militants. The antiwar movement, built and staffed by student militants, has had an important impact in politicizing the working class.

The most striking example of this was last November 3 when almost 50,000 workers downed their tools in the first political strike in English Canada since the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. Trade unionists in B.C. responded to the independent action of thousands of students -- action that inspired workers with similar sentiments to move into the struggle themselves.

On a longer-term basis, mass action in the antiwar movement, combined with the organization and mobilization of other social movements in Canada, has affected working people through their political party, the NDP. The massive and growing sentiment against the war deepened the radicalization within the Party to the point that David Lewis, who apologized for U.S. aggression in 1965, had to accept a resolution against the war in Vietnam later the same year, and to see the whole party adopt the demands of the antiwar movement - for withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity - in 1968-69. This whole process came to its highest point last year when the Party adjourned its federal convention to participate in an antiwar demonstration.

The Importance of the Antiwar Movement in Canada

Some people on the left have argued that the war in Vietnam does not "directly affect" Canadian people that it is not possible to build an antiwar movement in Canada which can have an impact on the Canadian masses and contribute to the defense of the Vietnamese revolution. They claim that only in the United States, where the American people are sent to fight in Vietnam, can a powerful antiwar movement be built.

The antiwar movement in Canada is not a mass movement in the sense that it continuously mobilizes masses of people into political action against the war. Unlike the movement in the U.S., it does not have ongoing chapters on campuses and high schools across the country regularly engaged in antiwar activity. The peaks in the Canadian antiwar movement have not been as intense, and the lulls are more pronounced.

But although the Canadian antiwar movement is not an ongoing mass movement as in the U.S., it does take mass forms, depending on the immediate objective circumstances. And in fact it has been the most powerful anticapitalist movement in English Canada to flow from the current radicalization. The antiwar movement has been instrumental in bringing hundreds of thousands of Canadian youth into action. It has been the focal point of the evolution of the Canadian student movement. This movement

has had a powerful impact on the population as a whole and has been central to winning the majority against the war and affecting the radicalization of the working class. It has been the most striking expression of the process of radicalization and in turn has been a key factor in amplifying the radicalization.

As well the antiwar movement has altered the relationship of forces between the Canadian capitalist class and the Canadian people vis a vis imperialist war. By helping to crystalize the majority sentiment against the war, the antiwar movement has limited the degree to which the Canadian ruling class can aid the war effort and undertake its own imperialist military adventures. Trudeau cannot openly proclaim his deep desire for the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution -- a defeat that is crucial to the survival of the class which he represents. He cannot send Canadian troops to Vietnam as other capitalist countries have done and as Canada did in Korea. He cannot even attempt to convince the Canadian people that Canada's complicity in the war is justifiable, but instead is forced to push it under the rug.

These sectarians are also incorrect to assert that the war does not directly affect the lives of Canadians. The integration of American and Canadian capital has meant that Canada suffers from war-created inflation which results in unemployment and high prices for working people. There are massive expenditures coming from the taxes of the working people to finance military research projects for the American war machine. On the university level, vast resources and scientific facilities are allocated to research for the American military. There are continuous large government grants given to American war corporations in Canada. ~~The war in Vietnam adds a central component to the oppression of the Canadian people and epitomizes our exploitation by the US imperialists and their junior partners in Canada.~~

Another important factor that these leftists don't understand is that it is not only the fact that American troops have been sent to Vietnam that has generated the antiwar movement in the U.S. The antiwar movement there and around the globe is an integral part and a concrete expression of the world wide radicalization of youth. Youth in the U.S. and elsewhere have come into the streets against the war not only because of the threat of the draft, but because they are opposed to the genocide in Vietnam and the denial of the right of the people of Indochina to their self-determination. Youth have identified with the Vietnamese because they have seen that the struggle in Indochina represents a better future for everyone -- that it is part of the overall fight to change this world of exploitation, poverty, racism, sexual oppression, alienation and all the rest that they face every day. Despite the fact that most of the U.S. troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam, the American antiwar movement has continued. And despite the fact that Canadian troops have not been employed, the Canadian antiwar movement has grown, has been, and will continue to be a very powerful force.

Debates in the Antiwar Movement

Some people take for granted that the Canadian antiwar movement has evolved by some automatic process -- that its mass perspective and organizational character were there from the beginning. The Canadian antiwar movement, however, has had a long series of disputes to establish its present program and norms of operation. In fact, the antiwar movement has been a battle-ground for opponent political tendencies. Our movement has played an important role in this struggle. We have continually insisted upon a mass action perspective in defense of the Vietnamese, pointing out that the power of people in motion and the futility of trying to influence the gang of cutthroats in Ottawa or Washington through sweet-talk. We have developed a set of demands to ensure that the antiwar movement reaches out to as many people as possible, and to involve them in action.

This is why we have posed the single-issue orientation and fought against attempts by both reformists and ultralefts to force the antiwar movement to become a social problems discussion group multi-issue hodge-podge. Canadians opposing the war must be united on that question and not forced to take a stand on a whole number of other issues, if we are to mobilize the largest number possible. It is through maximizing the number of people that come into action against the war that we can have the greatest impact on the Canadian state and at the same time expose a whole number of other important issues.

We have applied the Trotskyist transitional program to the antiwar movement and posed the principled demands of "U.S. Out Now", and "End Canada's Complicity". These demands are posed so that the broadest number of people possible can relate to them. This very clearly puts the responsibility for the conflict on U.S. imperialism, not on the Vietnamese people, and poses mass action against the U.S. war machine.

Another important aspect of the demand "U.S. Out Now" is that it recognizes the Vietnamese right to self-determination without condition: it doesn't give one inch to the war-makers. This stands in contrast to the Communist Party and reformists, who openly call for support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government's (PRG) seven Point Peace Program which includes setting the date for U.S. withdrawals. What they refuse to recognize is that this program of set the date includes a number of conditions that the Vietnamese people may be forced to accept in this bloody and brutal conflict. Negotiating conditions for withdrawal is the prerogative of the Vietnamese, but not of the international antiwar movement. Any concessions made by us to the U.S. occupation of Vietnam, legitimizes that occupation to one degree or another. The call for immediate withdrawal, on the other hand, gives no excuses to Nixon to carry on the war for even one more day.

Some leftists claim that the demands of the antiwar movement are not good enough -- that more "revolutionary" demands are required to break the back of U.S. imperialism. We must patiently point out to them that "revolutionary" rhetoric will not break anything except silence. It is the masses in motion -- against U.S. imperialism -- that will end the war. The demands that can

mobilize the most people against the war, and extend the radicalization in this country are the correct ones. It is NOT more revolutionary to demand "Smash U.S. imperialism" or "Victory to the NLF", for these demands do not relate to the present consciousness of the masses and will not mobilize the masses.

Finally, revolutionaries in the antiwar movement have been and remain the best defenders of democracy. People involved in the antiwar movement will not be prepared to act and to organize others unless they have had a direct say in formulating the policies of the movement. Democracy in the antiwar movement is the best guarantee of unity and the involvement of large numbers of people. Also revolutionaries are usually the victims of exclusionism. We need an open and frank discussion to win people to our ideas. By keeping the Canadian antiwar movement democratic we have been able to turn aside vicious redbaiting attacks, and to expose the Stalinists and ultralefts who were not really serious about defending the Vietnamese. This is how we have been able to win the leadership of the antiwar movement in Canada, for our program best identifies itself with the struggle of the Vietnamese and with the aspirations of Canadian students.

The Trotskyist intervention in the antiwar movement has fundamentally shaped its ability to bring power to bear against U.S. imperialism and its helpmates. Not only in Canada and the United States, but as the spring upsurge testifies, in such countries as France, Mexico, Sweden and Peru. Trotskyists have played a crucial role in making antiwar activity MASS activity.

The YS/LJS and the Antiwar Movement

The YS/LJS has every reason to be proud of the role we have played in the Canadian antiwar movement. Since 1965 we have intervened in and built this movement consistently. Our conscious and scientific appraisal of the world and class forces involved in Indochina has been key in launching and maintaining the Canadian antiwar movement as an effective and powerful defense of the Vietnamese revolution. We have argued for and won the antiwar movement to the demands of immediate withdrawal and an end to Canada's complicity despite attempts by the Stalinists and ultralefts to divert the antiwar movement or to build actions that do not challenge the U.S. or Canadian warmakers. We have also made major efforts in carrying the antiwar movement into all sectors of the student milieu. It was the YS that initiated the SAWVS in Canadian high schools and that led the building of university committees across the country.

The Canadian antiwar movement, although spawned by the atrocities of U.S. imperialism, was organized and built by our conscious intervention and persistent work. Our work in building the antiwar movement has had a major effect in raising the political consciousness of the whole student movement -- in exposing the most fundamental and alienating contradictions of the capitalist system.

By exposing the nature of imperialist war and the brutality of the capitalist system as a whole the antiwar movement has brought thousands of youth toward socialist conclusions. Because we have been the only revolutionary tendency to consistently build the antiwar movement we have been able to bring many of

the best activists in the antiwar movement into the YS/LJS. For the past five years our main area of recruitment has been the antiwar movement. By continuing to build the antiwar movement and projecting ourselves as revolutionary socialists we can win the best defenders of the Vietnamese to Trotsky ism.

The Lull in the Antiwar Movement and our Responsibilities

Since our last convention there have been significant antiwar actions. On April 24, 1971, the International Day of Protest, several thousand people came into the streets across Canada, at the same time as the largest antiwar demonstrations in American history were held in Washington (700,000) and San Francisco (350,000). In October and November the Amchitka upsurge occurred, and in most areas, through the intervention of the antiwar movement it became a demonstration against the U.S. war machine, demanding "Stop Amchitka - Stop the War." This spring with the further escalation of the war and the Nixon visit small but important actions were held across the country. There have been numerous antiwar conferences, festivals, teach-ins, as well as several campus struggles against war research, such as at York and Waterloo.

But overall, especially in the last few months, the antiwar movement has been in a lull. Aside from Amchitka, there has been an absence of explosive struggles. While the sentiment against the war is greater than it has ever been there is a hesitancy and an unwillingness to come into action against it.

A main factor leading to this lull has been the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats. Their formation of a de facto united front to force the Vietnamese to abandon their struggle, has given powerful credence to Nixon's demagogy about winding down the war. The Nixon-Brezhnev-Mao entente has deflated the antiwar movement in the U.S. and Canada.

For example, Nixon's announcement May 8 of the mining of the harbours of North Vietnam evoked an immediate response from antiwar activists. Demonstrations across Canada and the U.S. were organized for May 21 and the possibilities for a major antiwar upsurge were considerable. But the incipient crisis failed to materialize thanks to the Soviet bureaucrats. Instead of cancelling the Nixon visit to Moscow, calling for international antiwar demonstrations, warning of counter measures if the mines were not deactivated, and asserting the right of the North Vietnamese's allies to continue to ship aid to Vietnam, the Kremlin bureaucrats simply issued a feeble statement criticizing the mining and then assured Nixon that he was welcome in Moscow ("was there ever any doubt" as the Kremlin diplomat in Washington told reporters).

This had the effect of pulling the rug from under the May 21 demonstrations, for the sense of urgency was gone. Nixon was able to sustain the illusion that the war is really over.

Another factor in the lull has been the downturn in sustained activity in the student movement as a whole. When the student movement was at its previous high level, anticapitalist activity centered around the war. In the Fall of 1969 tens of thousands of students marched against the war in massive demonstrations across the country, and the Kent-Cambodia crisis in the Spring of 1970 brought powerful spontaneous mass actions.

But conversely it is true to say that the lull in the antiwar movement has been a key factor in the downturn in activity of the student movement as a whole. The antiwar movement has been the focal point of the developing student struggles in Canada for five years. The factors dampening the antiwar movement have quieted the student movement as well.

Another factor in the lull in the Canadian antiwar movement has been the elections in the U.S. The election periods always mark a quiet in the U.S. antiwar movement as the Democratic Party attempts to suck in any political activity that is independent of the ruling class. This is centering on the McGovern campaign. The lull in the U.S. antiwar movement affects the movement in Canada and in this case has served to fortify the lull.

But the antiwar movement like any other form of struggle has an uneven development, both historically and geographically. While the North American movement is experiencing this lull, Latin America is seeing the birth of the antiwar movement, with over 25,000 in both Peru and Mexico demanding "Yankees out of Vietnam". Massive demonstrations have also occured in Europe.

Does this lull in the Canadian antiwar movement mean that we should abandon our mass orientation and consistent antiwar work.as some have suggested?

For over seven years Vietnam has been the acid test for revolutionary socialists. As Fidel Castro said in his June 6 speech in Poland: "Vietnam today is the supreme test of proletarian internationalism: Vietnam is the supreme test of Marxist-Leninist principles." Because of the centrality of the Vietnamese struggle to the world revolution we as revolutionary socialists do everything possible to defend the Vietnamese revolution as a matter of principle. We do everything our resources will permit to change the relationship of forces in favor of the Vietnamese. This means building the antiwar movement. Irrespective of its size, or whether or not it is in a lull, we strive to mobilize as many people as possible against the imperialist onslaught. By doing consistent work in lulls we are preparing for the upsurges to come.

Our Tasks

The most effective way students can defend the Vietnamese is by using their schools and campuses as organizing centers to build the antiwar movement. This strategy of building antiwar universities maximizes the impact of students in the struggle by taking the antiwar movement to all layers of the population.

During Amchitka the schools and universities were used as a means to build the massive demonstrations against the blast. The powerful dynamic unleashed by students, organizing as students against Amchitka, moved the working class in B.C. into action. In 1968-9 the actions against the Dow recruiters on many campuses were important in exposing campus complicity in the war and in focusing the attention of wide layers of the population on the horrors of the war. These actions, although limited, were important in building the antiwar movement.

Our orientation for the antiwar university provides a framework for building the antiwar movement in periods of both upsurges and lulls. We demand that the universities and schools break from the U.S. war machine and that their facilities be made available to discuss and organize against the war.

The present lull in the student movement and the situation in the war mean that over the past year most antiwar groups in the campuses and schools have been very weak. As well we have tended to neglect our task of building the student base of the antiwar movement. By building campus and high school committees in this period we establish the essential base when opportunities again open up for mass antiwar activity in the student movement. The comrades in Peterborough have shown that this can be done by building a viable, ongoing antiwar coalition in the past year.

The main task in this period is to conduct a broad educational campaign to expose the truth about the war, the bombing, the betrayals, Canada's role in the war, war research and recruiting and the importance of the antiwar movement. This campaign will win new recruits to the antiwar movement, raise the level of anti-imperialist consciousness among Canadian students, establish student antiwar committees and help us build the YS/LJS on campus.

The main vehicle for carrying on this work and building the student antiwar movement are the SMCs. The SMCs should operate on a regional basis and encompass all the antiwar committees from the high schools and campuses. The SMCs, with a center in Toronto, should give the antiwar movement leadership enabling far better co-ordination.

While carrying on cross-country and regional work, the SMCs must be deeply rooted in the student movement. In the high schools, antiwar committees should be formed within the schools where they can have far greater educational and political impact than from outside. These open antiwar committees could also participate in other actions related to the war in Vietnam. Antiwar committees would be in a central position to fight for and organize student struggles for democracy in the high schools around the right to form open clubs, to hold antiwar activities during school time, etc. Because of the nature of Canadian government war spending and education budgeting, the high school antiwar movement is in a position to participate in actions against the education cutbacks.

Because universities and colleges are much more open to political activity, the range of things that we can do there is far broader. Campus

antiwar committees should investigate and publicize instances of war research and launch actions to end it. Campus committees should be very aggressive in obtaining funds from students' councils and in using the campus press for publicity and educational purposes. Universities can be used as the base for cross-country tours by antiwar activists and speakers, which should be organized in tune with changes in the war and antiwar sentiment.

CONCLUSION

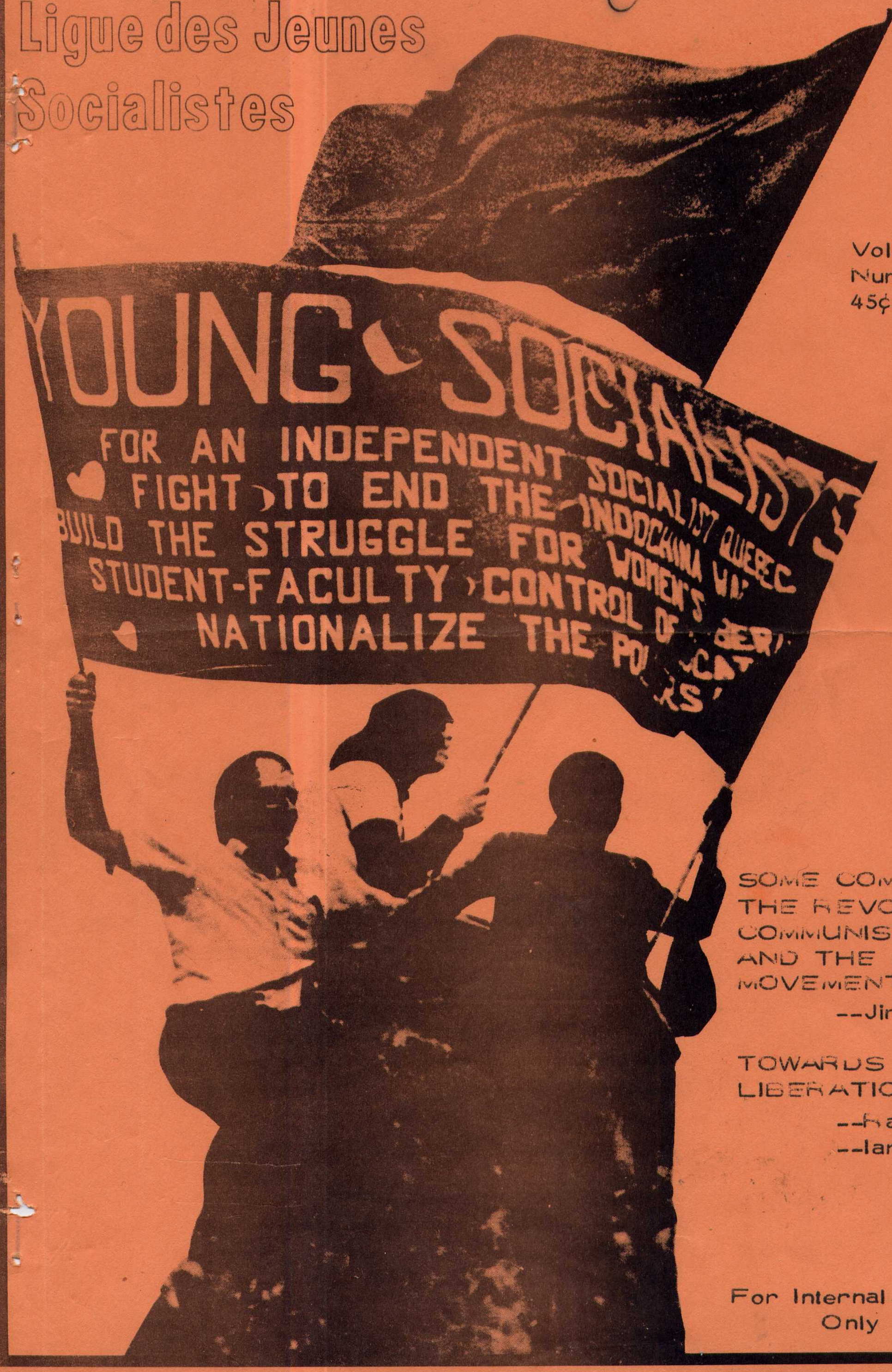
We are in an epoch of struggle - the age of Permanent Revolution - that will not end until the question of who runs this planet is settled once and for all. Are we going to see a future world planned and built in the interests of the working people and their allies, or will humanity be thrust back to barbarism? This is what the struggle in Vietnam is all about. It is the main battleground between imperialist decay, and the rise of world socialism.

Already this century has seen over one-third of the globe ripped from the claws of international capital. Nixon and U.S. imperialism are trying not only to stop this process, but reverse it. Their aim is to reconquer and stifle the workers states -- to turn back the tide of revolution. There is no lasting peace settlement on the agenda; there can be no "peaceful coexistence" with this monster. The international antiwar movement and its revolutionary leadership must contine to expose the genocide and destruction in Vietnam and strive to build a militant, mass defense of the Vietnamese revolution. By actively building the student antiwar movement and bringing the best militants into the YS/LJS we can most effectively aid the Vietnamese freedom fighters and at the same time build the revolutionary movement in Canada and Quebec.

Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

Volume 8
Number 5
45¢



SOME COMMENTS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST TENDENCY AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

--Jim Upton

TOWARDS GAY LIBERATION

--Randy Notte
--Ian Mackenzie

For Internal Circulation Only

SOME COMMENTS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST TENDENCY (R.T.C.) AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

By Jim Upton, Peterborough Local

(From YS/LJS DB 1972 Vol. 8 No. 5)

The Youth Radicalization

The late 1960s and early 1970s have been a time of deepening radicalization among youth. The prime cause of the radicalization up to now has been the crisis of bourgeois ideology, which in turn is rooted in the international crisis of imperialism.

As the resolution on the Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International states,

"The economic contradictions of imperialism are the underlying source of the social explosiveness of our era. Even while there has been a prodigious expansion of the productive capacities of the advanced capitalist countries in the past two decades, the gap between the rich and the poor nations has steadily widened. Successful revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, along with the destruction of capitalist relations in Eastern Europe and North Korea, have removed vast areas from the sphere of direct imperialist exploitation. Political instability and the threat of revolution in one colonial country after another have inhibited capitalist investment in these sectors. At the same time competition between the major industrial powers for a larger share of the world market steadily intensifies.

"These economic contradictions are intertwined with the necessity felt by imperialism to halt any further advance of the world revolution. The efforts of the imperialists to maintain their exploitation and oppression and crush revolutionary movements have been the prime factor in radicalizing the youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and the colonial countries." (note 1)

The Student Radicalization

The radicalization of students, as distinct from that of youth, has been influenced by three factors. Of primary importance is the aforementioned crisis of bourgeois ideology. A second factor is the oppression of youth, which of course affects students. This oppression includes some degree of economic dependence on the family of origin (with all the pressures this entails), the sexual restrictions and repression stemming from this economic dependence on the patriarchal family, widespread youth unemployment, etc. -- in general the prospect of growing up in a world, which, despite its big come-on, is rife with contradictions and unable to solve the most pressing problems of humankind such as sexual and national oppression, war, racism, poverty and pollution. The third factor influencing the radicalization of students is the institutional oppression they experience in the universities, colleges and schools -- the authoritarian, bureaucratic and alienating experience which goes by the name of education.

Around the world students have been in the forefront of the youth radicalization and in some cases have played key roles in detonating major struggles of the working class. In the past half dozen years hardly a country in the three sectors of the world revolution, that is, the advanced capitalist countries, the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states * and the colonial world, has not experienced a major mobilization of students. *(*a term developed by the Trotskyist movement to characterize the pre-socialist state-controlled economies of the Russian Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries, China, North Korea and most recently Cuba – Web Ed.)*

So far in 1972 we have witnessed significant student struggles in South Africa, Spain, the U.S., Argentina, Britain, Bangladesh, Portugal, Lithuania, France, Malagasy, Greece, Japan, Tunisia, Germany, Dominican Republic, Cambodia and Ethiopia.

The fact that some of these mobilizations have been around "campus issues" as well as those centred around such issues as national liberation, foreign policy, political freedoms including the freedom of expression of unpopular political views, apartheid, and the official status of a national language and culture, tends to disprove the Revolutionary Communist Tendency's assertion that "The themes around which the student movement struggles find their basis outside of the university, in national and international politics." (note 2)

While it is correct to assert as the resolution on The Worldwide Youth Radicalization does, that "The efforts of the imperialists to maintain their exploitation and oppression and crush revolutionary movements have been the prime factor in radicalizing the youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and the colonial countries" (note 3) this should not be mistaken to imply as the Tendency does that student struggles do not also develop around matters which arise initially within the universities and schools. The student struggles in Britain and France, as well as the U of T library struggle, the strike at West Kildonan, and the Richards struggle at Saskatoon point to the contrary.

The relationship between issues external to the university or school and those internal to it, is a dialectical one. Each can flow over easily into the other so that internal issues can soon be carried outside the institution within which they originate and linked up to the major political questions of the day. Similarly, issues external to educational institutions often reappear inside only to be raised in a more specific manner; for example, opposition to the war becomes translated into a campaign to end all war research on campus.

The Political Resolution

The Political Resolution, submitted by the Executive Council to the l972 Convention of the YS/LJS, is an attempt to evaluate, in the context of our experience in Canada and Quebec, the correctness of the analysis, strategy, and program set out in the resolution on The Worldwide Youth Radicalization. Consonant with this document, the Political Resolution sets forth as one of the major objectives of the YS/LJS: "The task of leading the student movement and winning the best of youth to revolutionary socialism..." (note 4) and the Resolution poses both a program and a strategy to this end.

However the Resolution makes several implicit assumptions which are presently being challenged by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency. These assumptions might be listed as follows:

1) the assumption that students have certain interests in common, interests which force them into collision with, and struggle against the ruling class.

2) the assumption that the student movement presently has, and will in future have a direct, and depending upon circumstances, perhaps a central role to play in the overthrow of capitalism. It is noted in the Resolution that without the participation of the working class the resolution cannot be made. But it is also stated that the struggles of students "against the oppression they face as students have a profoundly revolutionary thrust." And the student movement is said to have a "revolutionary potential." (note 5)

Even a preliminary discussion of these assumptions and the criticisms of them requires l) locating students in the class structure of advanced capitalist society; 2) analyzing the function of the university; and, 3) examining the concept of a student movement, its revolutionary potential and anti-capitalist dynamic.

Students In The Class Structure

The method of determining the position of students (note 6) in the class structure has two aspects to it: 1) momentarily assuming the class structure to be static so that the Marxist theory of class can be applied to students to determine whether they constitute a class in and of themselves or represent part of a larger social class; and, 2) viewing students as a dynamic social category, taking in account their socio-historical evolution.

The existence of a capitalist Canada means that we live in a class society in which the two predominant classes are the capitalist or ruling class and the working class. The latter includes the vast majority of those who sell their labour power for a wage or salary and who do not own or benefit directly from private ownership of the means of production. The working class as a whole comprises the overwhelming majority of the population. A third class in advanced capitalist society, which is of declining numerical and economic (though not necessarily ideological) importance is the petite-bourgeoisie, that is, small business owners, traders etc.

Strictly speaking, students fall into none of these classes. As a social group they cannot be considered members of the bourgeoisie, that is, those who own the major means of production in society. Nor can they be viewed as members of the working class who sell their labour power for a wage or salary. Finally, they cannot be described as a "petit-bourgeois layer." (note 7)

Students must be viewed as a social group or strata in transition, in the process of severing their connections with their class origins and yet not having reached their class destination. Although both their class origin and class destination influence them in various ways, the key factor in determining the consciousness of students and the extent to which they are open to socialist ideas and mass action is their experience of being

youth at a particualr historical stage in the development of Canadian and world capitalism and their experience as students in universities and colleges for three, four or more years.

The Tendency's designation of students as a petit-bourgeois layer flows from their rigid and formalistic conception of the proletariat.

First of all, they define those who do not produce surplus value as being outside the working class. This is in contrast to what Marx and Lenin wrote on this subject.

(As Ernest Mandel notes in Note 8): "For Marx and Lenin, the proletariat included all those who are forced to sell their labour power because they do not own capital and have no direct access to the instruments of production or to the means of sustenance.

In fact Marx wrote: 'Every wage worker is not necessarily a productive worker (i.e., one who produces surplus value); every producer is not necessarily a wage worker. The concept of the proletariat -- that is, the class of wage-workers -- is therefore by definition broader than that of manual labourers.' "

Secondly, the Tendency ignores the increasingly important role of intellectual labour in the production of surplus value. Thus they characterize technicians, engineers, and researchers as being petit-bourgeois. Once again this is in contradiction to Marx who "asserted that the concept of productive worker is broader than that of manual worker.... He explicitly included technicians and engineers in this category. In our epoch it would be necessary to add a good number of those working in research laboratories, especially in the chemical and electrical industries. Without their labour, production would cease as surely as it would without manual labourers." (note 9)

Since students cannot be identified with any particular social class it is impossible to talk about the class interests of students in the same way we would speak of the class interests of the proletariat, bourgeoisie, or petite-bourgeoisie. However, their existence as youth in an advanced capitalist country during the epoch of the death agony of capitalism and their collective experience in universities and colleges provides the basis for a certain homogeneity of interests among students, which to one degree or another overlaps with the interests of a certain social class(es) or other sectors of the population. *(Emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

Caroline Lund *(a US-SWP writer – Ed.)* has provided a partial list of these common interests of students which in turn are an expression of their oppression as youth and students – as:

1) An interest in learning the truth, an opposition to the compartmentalization and mystification of knowledge; a right to consider all theories and views, including Marxism.

2) An interest in the right of everyone to an education and a decent standard of living while they are going to school.

3) An interest in freedom of political expression and organization.

4) An interest in ensuring that the university serves the interest of the majority of the population (of which students are a part) rather than the interests of the ruling class minority.

5) Like all oppressed sectors of the population, an interest in linking themselves to the revolutionary struggle to abolish capitalism (note 10).

There are several things to note about this list of common interests. First, it is not restricted to narrow campus issues such as student-faculty control of hiring and firing, course content and so on, but includes interests shared by other oppressed groups in capitalist society. The reason for this is that students are also members of society. As youth they suffer the oppression of youth in addition to the oppression they experience in their educational institutions.

The Political Resolution expresses this well. It says: "Youth come into the educational system affected by all the problems of society; by war, racism, national and sexual oppression, pollution and poverty; they are affected by the social movements of the times; they are looking forward towards a bright future and useful lives; they are hoping, year after year, to find answers to the problems facing humanity. But they find institutions which are irrelevant to the problems, seeking to uphold injustice and prevent youth from questioning the status quo.

So students have identified with the oppressed, not out of some abstract charity, but because they see their interest as tied to those of the oppressed (note 11).

Because students have common interests which include, but go beyond, the campus, it is necessary to formulate a program and strategy which in the words of the Political Resolution "encompasses students own struggles against the administration and at the same time links them to the central struggles of society as a whole" (note 12). Since students are also members of society, their struggles are and can be linked to the major contradictions in society.

By denying the existence of any common interests on the part of students, the Tendency is forced to characterize the oppression of youth and students under decaying capitalism as merely conjunctural.

Presumably the revulsion of youth with the inability of capitalism to meet even the most basic of human needs is a passing phenomenon. Presumably the tendency, under advanced capitalism, for students to be crammed into or kept out of post-secondary educational institutions according to the labour power requirements of the capitalist employers is conjunctural. Presumably the authoritarian, bureaucratic nature of education in the bourgeois university and the alienation and revolt it engenders is temporary.

This line of reasoning, which is pursued by the Tendency, is fallacious. The inability of capitalism to solve the problems of poverty, pollution, national and sexual oppression, unemployment, war and so on is not conjunctural, it is structural. The manipulation of the educational system to meet the needs and serve the interests of the capitalist class is not conjunctural, it is structural.

This is why the resolution or The Worldwide Youth Radicalization states very explicitly that "the current student radicalization is not just a conjunctural phenomenon, but a permanent one that will be of continual concern to the revolutionary movement from now on." (note 13)

The Function Of The University

The social function of the university has altered with the passage of time. In the pre-capitalist period, higher education in Canada played little or no role in production. The university graduate received a religious-classical education which in no way could be construed as mere job training. The know-how required for most occupations, whether manual or non-manual, was learned at the place of work. And few jobs required any specialized knowledge or skills.

With the development of capitalist production around the middle of the nineteenth century, secular universities began to appear and gradually courses in the sciences and especially the applied sciences were introduced. Between the turn of the century and the outbreak of World War 2 universities came to serve certain specific needs including the training of an increasingly large class of administrators and technicians. Since World War Two the advances in technology and science have resulted in the increasing utilization of intellectual labour in the processes of production, distribution, and consumption. This has created a demand for a highly educated work force, requiring a system of mass education.

The increasing integration of intellectual labour in the economic processes of production, distribution, and consumption has forced a reorganization of post-secondary education wherever the need for a highly skilled and well educated labour force has become a prerequisite for the expansion of capital. When the needs of the capitalist employers change so must the organization and content of higher education. Since WWII *(1939-1945)* we have seen this reflected in the tremendous growth of post-secondary education in Canada.

In recent years universities and colleges have come to play a much more essential role in the maintenance of the capitalist status quo. This has occurred in three important ways:

1) Production of skilled intellectual workers and technicians who play productive roles and contribute directly to the realization of surplus value. The extraction of surplus value from such workers makes them exploited in the classic Marxian sense.

2) Production and reproduction of bourgeois ideology which in the age of neocapitalism has become an increasingly important weapon in the counter-revolutionary arsenal of the ruling class.

The universities and colleges contribute to ideological production by means of the values, attitudes, and world-view set forth in the courses taught, in the "scholarly" works of the faculty, and in the public pronouncements of academic administrators.

These institutions contribute in the social reproduction of bourgeois ideology through their graduates who carry the beliefs values of the ruling class into their occupational lives where, in some instances, they play a role in the socialization of the next generation. This is especially true of graduates who become teachers.

3) Production of knowledge which is directly contracted by industry, government, or the military. Such knowledge can be applied to production techniques, to producing means of production and destruction, as well as the formulation of policies and laws which legitimize the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The increasingly important role played by institutions of "higher learning" in advanced capitalist countries has meant that "Students also have a certain degree of social power today, more than they had 20 or 50 years ago when you could close the university for 5 years and it wouldn't change anything in the economy of the country. Today no industrial country can afford to close the universities for 5 years. That would create big problems inside the technologically advanced industrial sectors." (note 14)

The Student Movement, its Revolutionary Potential and Anti-capitalist Dynamic

A discussion of the revolutionary potential and anti-capitalist dynamic of the student movement presupposes an understanding of the concepts (of) student movement, revolutionary potential, and anti-capitalist dynamic. All of the terms are frequently used but rarely defined.

What do we mean when we speak of the student movement? How does one determine what is and what is not a movement? There appear to be two criteria which define a movement. First, a movement presupposes action – the concrete capacity for independent mass mobilization and struggle. Secondly, a movement presupposes ongoing organizations, coordination, and structures.

The labour movement embodies both criteria. In advanced capitalist societies such as Canada, labour is bound by a labyrinth of legislation which seeks to control the extent to which this movement can demonstrate its capacity for mass action. However within the restraints imposed upon it, labour has indicated a capability and willingness for mass mobilization and struggle many times over. And during the past several decades the labour movement has established a solid organizational base from which it can defend and advance the basic economic interests of the working class. Union locals, national and international unions, national labour federations, rank and file groupings and Political Action Committees are all part of the organizational structure of the labour movement.

If these two criteria are applied to the student milieu it also becomes apparent that it is possible to talk about a student movement, although the student movement is not subject to the same restrictive legislation as the labour movement, as in the case of the working class, major struggles tend to be sporadic rather than continuous. Though minor skirmishes and confrontations with university and civil authorities occur frequently,

major upsurges and mobilizations such as the U of T library struggle and the protests against the educational cutbacks occur irregularly.

In addition, we find the organizational basis for a movement in the student milieu. In Canada (as opposed to Quebec) student councils exist on almost all campuses. And at least in the universities, these councils have a substantial degree of financial and political independence from the administration. Student councils are the most rudimentary form of organization in the student milieu. In some provinces these councils have banded together to form provincial student unions. Recently, the first steps were taken towards the re-establishment of a national student union.

The Tendency argues that the dissolution or discarding of student unions such as CUS is an additional proof that students lack common objective interests. The Tendency states: "Two different interpretations of these events are possible: either a) the student milieu has no objective interests, or b) students are irresponsible masochists." (Note 15)

A third interpretation seems closer to the truth, that is, that the persistence of student unions, as opposed to their temporary dissolution, is further proof of the common objective interests of students. The dissolution of CUS in 1970 ended almost forty-five years of national student unionism in Canada. Yet within less than two years we are seeing a serious attempt to re-establish a national union of students. Why? Not because students have no common interests but rather precisely because students recognize the need to have some organization which can represent their views and defend their interest on a national basis.

The Tendency adds that "The labour movement never destroys its trade unions, even when the strategical differences within them are insurmountable, and this for a very simple reason, unlike the student milieu, workers have sufficient common objective interests to know that unorganized, they would fall victim to super-exploitation." (note 16).

The Tendency may be correct to point out that because students are not exploited they may temporarily dissolve their student unions. However it does not follow that because students are not exploited and may therefore dissolve their unions, that, as a result of this, they have no common objective interests and that they are not oppressed. All it proves is that students are not oppressed in the same manner or degree as members of the working class.

Those sections of the working class which are exploited, that is, productive workers, those who produce surplus value, are usually the quickest to unionize because of the intensity with which they experience their exploitation and oppression. Unproductive, that is, non-exploited workers, are often slower to unionize than productive workers although this varies depending upon the degree and nature of their oppression.

Even though students may not suffer the same degree of oppression as many members of the working class, this should not be mistaken to imply that consequently students are less likely to revolt against their oppression. The contrary is the case; they

are more likely to revolt because youth have not yet accepted their lot in life, they have not yet been broken by the system, while their youthful idealism and aspirations give them a social and political sensitivity which can quickly turn into rebellion and revolt.

In addition to student councils, student unions, and various formal representative structures, many campuses harbour "left" groupings, caucuses or tendencies which are attempting to build a student movement on their campus or in their area. Finally, we have the YS/LJS which is working to build the student movement on a national scale.

As the Political Resolution states, there is presently a crisis of leadership in the Canadian student movement. The student movement can remain within the confines of reformisn, that is, negotiations and lobbying with administrations and governments, as it has, on the whole, for the entire past period. Or, depending upon the objective and subjective conditions, which are presently favourable and becoming more so, it can become a dynamic social force characterized by mass mobilizations and struggles against the bourgeoisie and its educational system.

What is essential, and what cannot be repeated too often, is the necessity of a strategy and program which can lead the student movement forward. Such a strategy and program is presented in the Political Resolution.

Not only is it valid to speak of a student movement, but it is also correct to note the revolutionary potential and anti-capitalist dynamic of this movement. The term revolutionary potential refers simply to the role which the student movement can play in the struggle for socialism, and the revolutionary transformation of society. In this capacity it acts as an ally of the working class.

The anti-capitalist dynamic of the student movement refers to the fact that some of the interests of students can only be met by struggling against the system, for example, in the case of U. of T. students the right to use their own library or in the case of the students at Saskatoon, the right to have a say in the hiring and firing of faculty. Other interests can only be fully met with the overthrow of capitalism; for example, genuine student-faculty-support staff control of the university.

Because of the increasing strategical importance of colleges and universities to the maintenance and perpetuation of the capitalist system, on an economic as well as an ideological and political level, students have much greater social w eight and potential political power than ever before.

This is not to equate students with proletarians or to imply that students can make the revolution. It is simply to recognize the role students will play in the combined drive for state power.

The Tendency says that for the majority of the Canadian section "all the peripheral movements, including the student movement, are 'objectively anti-capitalist,' equally and in the same sense that the labour movement is supposedly objectively anti-capitalist." This of course, is a distortion of the position of the majority.

As Marxists we must understand that the working class is the central force for revolution because of its strategic position in the productive process. However this does not negate the fact that students and other oppressed sectors of the population besides the oppressed and exploited working class have interests which are contrary to those of the capitalist class. Consequently the student movement, along with other movements whose overall demands cannot be met within capitalism can play an important role in the struggle for socialism.

However, because students cannot make the revolution alone but must ally themselves with the working class, we should discuss briefly, before closing, the way in which this linkage can be made in Canada. It can be made in at least three ways:

1) Through the NDP, the mass labour party, which represents the concrete expression of the level of politicization in the working class as a whole at the present time.

2) Through the movements which are directed against the policies of the ruling class such as the antiwar, abortion law repeal, and Quebec independence movements, which can mobilize sectors of the working class around directly political questions.

3) Through the independent actions of the student movement which in some instances can bring the working class into political action, for example, Amchitka *(the massive massive anti-US student-led Alaskan nuclear test protests in B.C. – Ed.)*, and in exceptional circumstances can detonate a revolutionary explosion in the working class, such as occurred in France in May-June 1968, and more recently in Malagasy* in May 1972. *(*native community of Madagascar off the South-east coast of Africa – Ed.)*

Conclusion

We have examined in a preliminary manner, the two key assumptions in the Political Resolution which have been criticized by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, that is,

1) that students have certain common objective interests, the pursuit of which brings them into collision with the ruling class, and

2) that because of its revolutionary potential and anti-capitalist dynamic the student movement can be an important force in the coming Canadian revolution.

The preceding analysis indicates that both assumptions are valid whereas the same cannot be said for the criticisms of the Tendency, at least as put forward in their document on the student movement.

Footnotes

1. *The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and The Tasks Of The Fourth International,* p.8.
2. *Documents Of The Revolutionary Communist Tendency*, discussion Bulletin 1972,

Volume 8 No.3, page 13.

3 . *The Worldwide Youth Radicalization*, page 8 .

4 . " The Nature and Challenge Of The Youth Radicalization," Discussion Bulletin

I972, Volume 8 No. I , page 18.

5 . Ibid, page 9

6 . The term "students" henceforth refers to university and college students in Canada

7. *Documents of the Tendency*, page 14.

8. Ernest Mandel, "Intellectual and Manual Labour: A vanishing distinction", in *Intercontinental Press*, June 5 , 1972, page 635.

9 . Ibid. , page 635.

10. Caroline Lund, "International Report to the YSA *(US)* 1969 Convention," International Information Bulletin No.2, April l970, pages 11-12.

1 1 . *Nature and Challenge of Youth Radicalization*, page 5 .

1 2 . *Ibid*. , page 9.

1 3 . *The Worldwide Youth Radicalization*, page 12.

14. Ernest Mandel, *The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice,* pages

25-26.

15. *Documents of the Tendency*, page 13.

16. *Ibid*. , page 13.

17. *Ibid*. , page 15.

TOWARDS GAY LIBERATION

by Randy Notte and Ian Mackenzie

(From Young Socialist/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
1972 Discussion Bulletin Vol. 8 No. 5 – 2nd document)

Introduction

This document is presented l) to give an analysis of the oppression of gays and especially of gay youth; 2) to discuss the history of the Gay Liberation movement in Europe and North America; 3) to discuss the experiences of this movement in Canada and on Canadian campuses and high schools; 4) to discuss the nature of our present involvement with Gay Liberation; 5) to call for a YS/LJS orientation to Gay Liberation.

When we use the term 'Plenum Report' in this document, we are referring to the report written by John Steele and adopted by the Summer l971 Plenum of the Central Committee of the L(EAGUE FOR) S(OCIALIST) A(CTION) / L(IGUE) S(OCIALISTE) O(UVRIÈRE), and which also comprises our present line on Gay Liberation. In addition, we are familiar with the interpretation of the line from the Executive of the Vancouver branch of the LSA, which was presented at a meeting of gay comrades.

As we are Vancouver comrades, we have first hand experience of Gay Liberation in Vancouver only, and have observed our movement vis-a-vis Gay Liberation only here. Nevertheless, even on this latter question we feel that what we have to say is of importance to the movement nationally, given that the line applies nationally. Therefore it is doubtful that the nature of our involvement with Gay Liberation differs substantially elsewhere in the country.

The Oppression of Gays

Gay people are one of the most oppressed minorities in North American society. Very few oppressed groups have shared this quality with gay people: to be denied, according to the prevailing morality of society, the very **right** to exist. One can draw a parallel between the position of gays in this society and that of Jews in the Third Reich.

The oppression of gays can be traced back to the ancient Hebrews, who were, by the way, the only people in the Mediterranean basin to forbid homosexuality. With the adoption by Europe of Judaic morality, spread by Christianity, came the fear and hate towards homosexuality felt throughout the Western world -- and which, incidentally, does not in general exist outside of Europe and America.

However, Western society's oppression of gay people is not just a throwback to obsolete religious beliefs. The prohibition of homosexuality goes hand in glove with the oppression of women in the nuclear family. It does not exist in a vacuum, but is part of sexual oppression **in general**. It is part of the reactionary morality that helps maintain the nuclear family and thus capitalist society as a whole. Even after what has been prematurely billed as the 'sexual revolution', the old prejudices against homosexuality

persit, even among so-called 'sexually liberated' people. The fear of homosexuality is the most oppressive and deeply rooted element of the old reactionary sexual ideology, and must be discarded on the rubbish heap of history if straights *(hetereosexuals -Ed.)* and gays alike are to break free from the chains that bind them to the past, and undertake the construction of a new society.

What is the form that gay oppression takes on in this society? In this question, as elsewhere in the document, we are interested primarily in the position of young gays, who are particularly oppressed as homosexuals and whose oppression is compounded by all the difficulties of youth in a restrictive capitalist society. Some of the difficulties encountered by older gays are reduced for the young homosexual who is perhaps still living at home and going to school or university. For example, a person who is not yet on the labour market is not affected by occupational exclusion – the risk of being fired for revealing one's sexual preferences. But in general, the young gay shares the oppression of the older, and many aspects of her or his oppression are unique.

The oppression of gay adolescents is especially brutal, because they may not understand the nature or the meaning of their nascent sexual impulses. Even if they do understand that they are gay, they have no way to escape, no freedom of movement, as they are trapped in their families and schools. For them there does not even exist the alternative of the gay subculture, for all its oppressiveness and limitations. They may know no other gay people: for all they might guess (at least until the advent of *(the current movement for --Ed.)* Gay Liberation) they are the only people in the world to feel the desires they do. Certainly, there is nothing to encourage the young homosexual who first hears of other gays through the propaganda machine of a monolithic heterosexual society, with its constant stream of anti-gay lies. Television, movies, books, all project the same image of an infinitesimal minority of limp-wristed faggots or masculine looking dykes.

In Health and Guidance classes one learns homosexuality is a perversion or a disease: in church one finds it is a sin: in the family one is indoctrinated into the 'virtues' of a heterosexual monogamous relationship, the role played out by the parents. Perhaps the greatest tragedy is that the young gay's peers, too, receive the same attitudes from the same sources. If they are male, they play the role of virility and male-chauvinist heterosexuality, including frequent denunciations of 'fags' or 'queers' — or if they are female, they play the role of the subservient sex-object, whose goal in life is to have a boy friend, with marriage the ultimate aim. Is it any wonder that young homosexuals, during this period of extreme peer-group conformity, end up themselves, as a smoke-screen so to speak, attempting to play out the very same roles, so inimical to their true sexuality.

The problems of young gays do not, of course, disappear after adolescence. In fact, it may take years before they can admit to themselves that they are gay -- and in our society, many people never succeed in doing even that. Once the admission is made, one is faced with the traumatic realization of spending one's life in a dangerous and hostile society. For many, this is the beginning of a life of self-hatred and insecurity.

Young gays undergo a unique legal oppression too. Despite all the liberal noise

about the 'legalization' of homosexuality (and, by the way, it is still illegal for gays to immigrate to Canada or hold civil-service positions), homosexual love remains a criminal offense for people under the age of twenty-one. Trudeau's famous Bill -- which quite possible marks the beginning and the end of liberal reform in this area, has not affected by one iota the position of gay youth, who are somehow expected to remain chaste until their twenty-first birthday, whereupon they can presumably revert to their 'Perversion'. The point to be made is that young gays have absolutely no legal rights, and under the law are classified as 'alienated youth'.

However, the present laws are not widely enforced -- but it is not in their enforcement wherein lies their significance. Certainly, many gays are legally harassed, through the application of a number of vague laws governing morality. But the vast majority of homosexuals, including young gays, are never bothered by those laws – one reason being that it is only possible to apply them against the small percentage of gays who are open about their sexuality. The significance of the laws is that they **can** be applied – they are symbolic of and part of the totality of society's repression of homosexuality, the aim of which is to keep the percentage of open gays to as small a figure as possible. The function of our laws and mores is to keep gays in the closet. The capitalist system, built on the foundation of the nuclear family, has everything to fear from a sexual preference that denies heterosexual monogamy – and which therefore strikes at that foundation. That is why present society does everything it can to crush any open expression of homosexuality. And that is why the act of 'coming out[1], openly declaring oneself to be homosexual, is more than an act of insolence against reactionary morality -- it is a revolutionary act.

Now this is what more and more gays are doing, especially the younger ones -- refusing to succumb to the pressures that would keep them in the closet, and rebelling against bourgeois morality by declaring themselves openly. In the growing willingness of gay youth to 'come out' lies the potential of gay liberation. And this potential contains a profoundly anti-capitalist dynamic – for as in the case of most oppressed groups, whose oppression stems from and is an integral part and requirement of the present social system, the emancipation of gays cannot attain fulfillment within capitalism.

Two further points need to be taken up on the question of "coming out."

The first is that gays who remain 'in the closet' are subject to a far more pernicious form of oppression than those who are open: for the former must live a completely schizoid existence, hiding their sex life and separating it from all their other activities.

The second is in reply to recommendation number five of the Plenum Report. Contrary to the implication found there, no gay ever comes out by having a cavalier or non-serious attitude! And no gay needs to be reminded of the implications of coming out in this society!

Gay Liberation in History

Although this is a YS/LJS document, and thus primarily concerned with the student movement, we feel justified in including a section on the history of Gay Liberation. We

are doing so because no such outline has yet appeared in a movement document. Besides this, its educational role, we feel this section necessary to clear up a misconception in the Plenum Report.

The Plenum Report says that, in contrast to the women's movement, Gay Liberation has had a very short history, and that therefore its potential is unclear. We reply that a consideration of the history of a movement is only one part of the analysis of its potential, and not the sole basis for such an analysis. We also reply that the Plenum Report is inaccurate when it implies that Gay Liberation has only the briefest of histories. Although never reaching the size of the Suffragist movements, past movements for homosexual emancipation cannot be discounted, as they are an indication of Gay Liberation's ability to involve large numbers of people.

The first homophile groups appeared in Europe in the l890s. Of these, the biggest and most important was the movement organized by Magnus Hirschfeld in Germany. Throughout its twenty-three year history, this movement published a *Journal for Sexual Reform* which pressed for the repeal of anti-homosexual statutes. Understanding the need for gays to win their rights, the group drew up a petition to the Reichstag, and gained the signatures of several hundred physicians, professors, writers and intellectuals, among them Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein.

In England at about the same time, the group organized by Edward Carpenter, an early British socialist, gained much notoriety through its pamphlets and books on homosexuality. Carpenter mentions in his book *Homogenic Love* (published 1864) that it was through the feminist movement of that time that several women, especially in the U.S., were taking their places in the leadership as proclaimed lesbians.

The United States has a history of numerous homophile organizations. Among these was the 'Society for Human Rights', which in 1925 gained an Illinois state charter, and was the first organization to concentrate actively on gay rights. In 1936 emerged 'The Sons of Hamidy', and in 1945, several groups sprang up, even in places as remote as Phoenix, Arizona. For gay soldiers, there was the 'Veterans Benevolent Association' which lasted from 1945 to 1954.

A significant advance took place with the birth of the Mattachine Foundation in 1953. Along with the Daughters of Bilitis, founded in 1956, it exists to this day. Both organizations have established themselves as completely national in character and have contributed significantly to the Gay Liberation movement through educational campaigns and by their struggles for gay rights.

In the last two or three years, as part of the rising radicalization, Gay Liberation has made more impressive gains than it has in its entire previous history. We have witnessed how the gay movement has not been confined solely to the U.S. and Canada, but has emerged and grown in England, France, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere, and how it has taken on a more comprehensive character through its role in the antiwar movement, the Womens' Liberation movement and the student movement.

Gay Liberation in Canada

Even the birth of Gay Liberation in Canada gave evidence of its ability to involve large numbers of people. It also pointed to Gay Liberation's role in the student movement. Two years ago, some gays at the University of Toronto got together to arrange a speaking engagement for Dr. Franklin Kameny, a leading figure of the New York Mattachine. Kameny was met by an audience of 700-800, who were brought out by a well-organized campaign publicizing the meeting. From this speaking engagement was born the University of Toronto Homophile Association. So rapid was the growth of the UTHA, that the administration threatened reprisals if the group did not prevent non-student gays from attending meetings.

Those gays who were not students formed the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT) , an organization largely devoted to providing dances and other gay social activities. CHAT has, however, demonstrated its capacity to move in a political direction, through its stopping of police harassment and its lobbying in parliament — although the perspective has not been mass action, but one of negotiating with the police and with bourgeois politicians.

By far the most progressive group in Toronto is 'Toronto Gay Action.' It has been involved in activities ranging from protests at the CBC, to campaigning for repeal of anti-homosexual sections of the Immigration Act. Its most significant political acts have been the formation of the gay contingents for November 6 and April 15, and the organization of the August 28 gay rights demonstration of 130 in Ottawa.

Other Gay Liberation organizations have been born in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Victoria, Halifax, Montreal and elsewhere. Here in Vancouver, Gay Liberation forces were first organized into the Gay Liberation Front. Although an essentially ultra-left organization it aroused tremendous interest, with meetings often packed to nearly one hundred. Actions centered around the Castle Hotel "Kiss-In" involving 30 to 40 people; picket lines at gay clubs banning entry to women; and speaking engagements in the high schools, where the speakers met with a good response from students.

Other groups subsequently emerged: the Canadian Gay Activists' Alliance (CGAA) , Gay Sisters, Gay Womens' Resource Centre, Gay People's Alliance at UBC, and the Vancouver Gay Alliance Towards Equality.

The Gay Alliance Towards Equality has been the most active of these groups. In the past year it has picketed for gay rights at the YMCA and at the Castle Hotel (both thoroughly anti-gay) and has campaigned for repeal of the anti-gay sections of the Immigration Act. (The petition drawn up for this purpose had a good response from the NDP and received the signature of the NDP candidate for Vancouver-Burrard).

Along with the proliferation of off-campus groups, Gay Liberation has experienced impressive growth in the universities. The large homophile associations at U of T, Western, York, and Waterloo give ample evidence of this.

At UBC this semester saw the formation of the Gay People's alliance, which was

able to draw twenty-five to thirty people to its meetings. Almost immediately after its launching, however, it was plunged into leadership crises, as the direction of the organization was tossed back and forth between the ultra-lefts and counter-culturalists. These crises resulted in the *(dispersal)* of the group's forces.

Despite its temporary failure to grow on B.C. campuses, Gay Liberation has been welcomed with alacrity in the high schools. This has mainly been through the form of speaking engagements arranged between GATE and the students. A good example is that which took place at Vincent Massey High School in March of this year. It was here that four hundred students came to hear the GATE speakers and to express their interest in what (other) gays are like and in what they are doing. However, bourgeois politicians were not slow in recognizing what this action meant: a rebellion against sexual repression. The very next day, the Socreds were denouncing the Gay Liberationists for "taking youth through the gamut of Life" — and the School Board, taking its cue, put a ban on all 'controversial' speakers for the duration of the year.

After this flare-up in the legislature, interest did not die down. A week later, a comrade who helped organize the meeting, and the chairman of GATE, were on radio defending the right of Gay Liberationists to air their views freely in the high schools. Seven high schools since that time have requested Gay Liberation speakers and the response by the students to them has always been favourable. GATE members have also spoken at UBC, SFU, and all the technical schools in greater Vancouver.

Problems of *(our)* Present Involvement With Gay Liberation

It is insufficient to simply state that we Trotskyists support the struggles of all oppressed sectors of society. It is inadequate to simply say that we support Gay Liberation. While the latter statement is true, it is only true in one sense. One must ask oneself exactly how, at the present time, we support Gay Liberation. And we must be clear about the reply: we **morally** support Gay Liberation, and in no other respect. We do not support it materially, as we have no orientation towards it. While it is true that some comrades **on their own initiative** participate in Gay organizations, we as an organization do not undertake to guide or build the Gay movement. We do not support it materially. What about propagandistically? Although the Plenum Report endorses propagandistic support for Gay Liberation, we feel that this has not been undertaken adequately. One has only to note the silence in our press about the demonstration of 130 Gay militants on Parliament Hill last summer. So let us be clear: our movement as yet offers only moral support to Gay Liberation.

The character of our relationship towards Gay Liberation flows naturally from our lack of an orientation to it. Our participation is characterized, firstly, by a lack of **consistency.** The most obvious symptom of this lack of consistency is irregularity in attendance of meetings. Even those two or three comrades most devoted to the cause of Gay Liberation are not able to avoid frequent absenteeism, as Gay Liberation is the lowest of their priorities. This is not to suggest it is the lowest of their personal priorities — often the very opposite — but rather that their regular assignments in other fields take precedence over and often conflict with their involvement in Gay Liberation.

The problem is greater in the case of those comrades not devoted to Gay Liberation. Certain of these comrades attend meetings only sporadically and infrequently. Often they attend as a group and are identifiable as Trotskyists. Seldom do they contribute to the discussion, instead sitting through the meetings in silence — small wonder, as without an orientation, we have nothing to contribute. We can contribute only little to meetings, because we have no interest in building and directing Gay Liberation — whereas the central task of every meeting **IS t**he building and direction of Gay Liberation!

When we discuss the conduct of comrades at Gay Liberation meetings, let there be no misunderstanding. We are not criticizing them, personally in any way whatsoever. Their silence at meetings and their infrequent attendance result inevitably from our lack of an orientation to Gay Liberation. The participation of members of our movement cannot be qualitatively different until our movement adopts a perspective for building Gay Liberation.

In the anti-war or abortion repeal movements we Trotskyists are respected for our consistency, zeal, and leadership qualities. Yet what a difference in Gay Liberation! Activistists at a Gay meeting see a group of people whom they identify as Trotskyists -- yet who say nothing, and are there one week and gone the next! Can one wonder if such gay activists construe our conduct as displaying non-seriousness, lack of interest or even hostility towards Gay Liberation? This is no metaphysical question, as there has already been friction between certain gay militants and certain comrades around the question of our faltering and inconsistent involvement.

From this flows the additional question of how we should, and are, presenting ourselves as socialists in the Gay Movement. Naturally, we must never be afraid to pose ourselves as socialists — we are proud of it, and our primary task in the YS/LJS today is the spreading of socialist ideas and the building of our student movement. We must put forward socialist propaganda at every propitious moment. This is the policy of the movement, with which we completely agree. But the policy of the movement is more than this. It is also a consideration of **how** to advance our socialist ideas. We do not at all times and at all places blindly distribute our press and advance openly Marxist ideas, qua Marxist ideas. The opportuneness of propagandizing and the manner in which we do it is carefully considered.

The manner in which we do it is determined by the role we are playing in a given situation. Certainly, we want to win people to socialism and to our movement. Yet when we are involved in any movement, on whatever level, of **primary** importance to us must be the success and growth of that movement. To view things otherwise would be sectarian and opportunistic. This is basic Trotskyist politics, and is one of the things that differentiates us from other tendencies on the left, who exploit various struggles only as areas to propagandize for their own organizations. On the other hand, let us have no confusion: if the question be posed to us, "Which is more important to you — a certain mass movement or your own movement?" -- we should have to honestly reply, "Our own movement." But we should also reply that the question is artificially posed, as the growth and success of the mass movements themselves is not just the best, but the **only** way to ensure the growth and development of our own. Our movement does not exist in a

vacuum, but is dialectically integrated with all areas of radicalization.

It is this perspective of non-sectarianism, coupled with a desire to build and lead, that must mark our participation in any movement. The extent and importance of our participation matters not: wherever we go, in whatever movement, no matter the size of our attendance, we *are* Trotskyists, and we are seen by others as participating in the *capacity* of Trotskyists. Thus we must act as Trotskyists. We therefore spread our socialist ideas — but we do not participate just to spread our socialist ideas. We participate to build. If we do not participate sincerely, if we do not participate to build, we will not have the credibility or the respect of the movement in which we are operating -- and neither will our socialist ideas. We cannot participate in any movement just to win people over to socialism and to our movement. That cannot work, because they will see our movement as being unconcerned with their interests, and only concerned with its own ends. *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

Yet what is our role in Gay Liberation? We have a role there right now, as we are participating in it. True, part of that role is as observers, evaluating the development of Gay Liberation. This is the good aspect of our present role -— although in this we are greatly handicapped, as passive observers are nowhere near as able to feel out a movement as effectively as leading participants. But what about the other aspect of our role in Gay Liberation? On the one hand, comrades in Gay Liberation are directed to disseminate socialist ideas, which includes the distribution of our press. They are told thay we want to win the best Gay militants to our movement. But on the other hand, they are told that we have no perspective for building Gay Liberation. They are told that we do not undertake to lead Gay Liberation — which means in practice that no comrade can assume a leadership position (secretary, chairperson, etc.) — making us Trotskyists the only participants unable to do so. It also means that we do not attempt to influence the politics of Gay organizations. We take no role of guidance or of building. The work that our comrades have been able to do, given our present line, is purely on personal initiative. The effect of our present line on Gay Liberation has been to make us observers, non-serious participants, and people interested solely in attracting gay militants to socialist ideas.

Can we really expect to successfully spread our ideas, which are represented by a press with few articles on Gay Liberation, making it seemingly irrelevant to Gay Liberationists? Can we really expect to recruit gay militants to an organization that does not materially support Gay Liberation — which would mean, in effect, reducing the ranks of Gay Liberation by removing activists from leadership roles in their movement? And can we really expect to do any of these things, or be accepted with credibility, if we refuse to give any serious support to Gay Liberation?

Some Arguments Against an Orientation

We feel it necessary to briefly take up some of the current arguments advanced against an orientation towards Gay Liberation. We will not take up the most blatantly unfounded arguments – such as the formalistic and opportunistic one that Gay Liberation alienates the working class – as such opinions are no longer widely held in the

movement.

One of the most frequent arguments against an orientation centres around the catch-phrases 'but consider the political realities' or 'look at the objective situation'. That is sometimes the extent of the argument, as some are unwilling or unable to elucidate what they mean by these vague statements. We do, indeed, carefully consider the political realities -- this document itself is a consideration of the 'political realities' – and it is from our analysis of the 'objective situation' that we draw our conclusions. We can only wonder at the vagueness of these platitudes. But then, again, frequently the argument is pursued, and eventually boils down to the opinion that 'the political realities are that Gay Liberation is not a mass movement'. Here it is a lack of credibility due, in part, to conservatism and the supposed novelty of Gay Liberation. The problem of comrades hung up on this point is one of a lack of balance and perspective. The term 'mass movement' is often inadequately defined, especially insofar as it applies to our areas of intervention. Without being cynical, may we suggest that at least from one point of view, none of our areas of intervention, **at the present time**, can be classified as 'mass movements' -- in the sense that they do not involve thousands of people in action. While it is true that these same movements take on the character of mass movements (in the sense just mentioned) at certain times (e.g. Amchitka -- rare!) and in certain places (e.g. anti-war demonstrations in Washington -- but consider, too, Christopher Street demonstrations in New York!) -- in the day-to-day, month-to-month and even year-to-year work of our movement, they are mass movements only in the particular sense we give to the word -- i.e., areas of intervention that can, and sometimes in the future (according to careful analysis) **will** involve great masses of people. In the meantime, there are areas where we, as activists operate, working with, and very often outnumbering people not in our movement. Why is it that an abortion law repeal meeting with twenty people present is a mass movement, an anti-war meeting with fifteen people present is a mass movement, yet a Gay Liberation meeting with fifteen or twenty or twenty-five people present is **not** a mass movement? The answer is that in the case of the former two comrades think dialectically -- i.e., correctly understand the potential growth and development of the movements concerned, analyse their dynamic, their potential, and their future -- while in the latter case, some comrades think as formalists, considering that what transpired at the last Gay Liberation meeting is indicative of Gay Liberation throughout the world and into the indefinite future.

Another objection to an orientation is that we don't know the direction of Gay Liberation, as it is such a 'new movement'. This is another example of a failure to analyse dialectically. The direction of Gay Liberation is towards emancipation of gay people. There is an **irreconcilable** contradiction between the needs and aspirations of gay people and what capitalist society can offer them. This means, as has been pointed out earlier, that Gay Liberation has an anti-capitalist dynamic. It also means that as long as that contradiction exists (i.e. until socialist society), Gay Liberation will be with us -- and, like all other movements of the oppressed, must grow, coalesce with the others, and culminate in socialist revolution .

If the lack of a complete programme for Gay Liberation be another objection, remember that a programme is derived by participation in a movement and is thrashed out in action -- as was the case with our intervention in Women's Liberation.

Another argument against an orientation is one of allocation of resources. It is argued that given our slender resources, we must be very careful where we invest them. Our cadre must work in fields where the benefits to the movement, and to the radicalization in general, will be greatest. With this position we most heartily agree. But there are those who, using this correct position as a basis for their argument, somehow manage to conclude that, therefore, we cannot afford to spare comrades for the area of Gay Liberation. The failure of this argument is obvious. The question of the allocation of resources is a **secondary** one. If an area of the radicalization is found to be worthy of an intervention, after an analysis of its potential dynamic, and importance relative to our other areas of intervention -- the question of resources is automatically resolved. We insert our cadres in the area in direct proportion to the benefits to be had, both for the growth of our movement and for the growth of the movement concerned. Needless to say, the key is **flexibility** -- and this points out the absurdity of the position of those who surmise a sudden and complete disappearance of all gay comrades into gay liberation the moment we adopt an orientation.

Another objection sometimes posed is that "we cannot jump in and support every new movement that comes along. There are, after all, other movements besides Gay Liberation in which we are not involved – such as the anti-pollution movement and the *(Native)* Red Power movement." While this in itself is correct, comrades who advance this argument are ignoring some very important questions, such as the presence of large numbers of gay people in all sectors of society. Similarly, one of the reasons for wanting an orientation is that we gay people are present in very large numbers in our own movement -- whereas, for example, there are virtually no Native people. And whereas the question of pollution is an important one -- we gays suffer from it like anyone else -- we suffer much more from our sexual oppression. Now because of our numbers, the movement has the human resources necessary for a successful intervention in Gay Liberation. And it is only natural that we should want to fight against our own oppression.

Furthermore, it is inadequate to say that as socialists working towards revolution, we are serving the cause of Gay Liberation, which can only reach fruition in a socialist society. Although true, we must remember that socialism only lays the groundwork for gay emancipation -- it does not guarantee it. Anti-gay prejudice in Cuba is sufficient evidence of this. Thus an independent and strong Gay Liberation movement is essential. We, as gay Trotskyists, want to work in it.

Why an Orientation

Let us now reiterate and stress some of the main elements of our argument.

1.) The potential of Gay Liberation is clear. It has great potential, due to the large numbers of gay people in our society -- 10 to 20 percent, depending on how one interprets the (conservative) statistics. Its potential is due also to the growing willingness of gays to 'come out'.

2.) **Gay Liberation has a revolutionary dynamic. This stems from the contradiction**

between homosexuality and the patriarchal family. The family is an essential economic institution of capitalism, without which the system could not survive. Capitalism needs the family for its pool of cheap labour (women), and for its role in raising children, taking the onus to do so off of society. Therefore people must be made to live in families. But what, exactly, does force people into this unhappy social arrangement? One thing that does so is reactionary and repressive sexual morality, with its ideal of perfect monogamy and with its prohibition of homosexuality. This is inculcated into people through all the instruments of bourgeois ideology. Yet if people understood the reactionary role of this morality, if they understood their sexual repression, they would rebel. Now that is exactly what gays, like women are doing: they are understanding their oppression, and rebelling. They are learning that they can be equal and free only in a society where everyone can choose with whom they will live and for how long, irrespective of economic considerations -- that is, in a society where the family need no longer exist -- in a socialist society *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

3.) Gay Liberation has proven its ability to mobilize large numbers of people. We have shown the fallacy of the categorization that it is not a mass movement. It is an integral and important part of the radicalization, and in the Vanguard of the Sexual Revolution.

4.) Our present involvement in Gay Liberation, determined by the line of the Plenum Report, suffers from an insoluble contradiction. We are both participating and we are not participating. We attend meetings, yet we are formally restricted from leading meetings. We propagandize, yet we have little justification for propagandizing, as we do not build the gay movement. As Trotskyists, we are a movement of leaders, but in Gay Liberation we are condemned to be followers. We are in limbo, in a sort of political "Never Never Land," victims of an ambiguity that can be resolved only by making a definite choice -- to participate and lead or not to participate at all. We want to participate and lead, and therefore we are proposing an orientation.

5.) Many comrades have said that the moment is not ripe for an orientation to Gay Liberation. They have stated that due to its embryonic form, we can only stand back and watch its growth and development. But we reply that nothing can be gained – indeed, there is everything to lose – if we sit back passively and 'watch' this movement. We feel that far more knowledge of it can be gained through **active** participation in it. As Trotskyists, we must not ignore revolutionary opportunities which fall into our hands. We must use these opportunities to the fullest in order to advance our movement and the radicalization as a whole.

6.) Given the potential of Gay Liberation and the great interest in it, we feel that its failures and setbacks, where they have occurred, can be attributed to a lack of consistent leadership, as was indicated in our section on Gay Liberation in Canada. Nevertheless, we must note Gay Liberation's viability and growth **even without** the sort of consistent and correct leadership that we can provide. We therefore believe that if we Trotskyists provide that subjective factor of leadership, we shall see a gay movement ever more growing and vital.

Proposals for Adoption

1.) The first draft resolution submitted by the Executive Council of the Y.S./L.J.S. for the 1972 convention, entitled 'The Nature and Challenge of the Youth Radicalization', states: "The revolutionaries of the Y.S./L.J.S. embrace this radicalization. We know that the struggles of women, Québécois, students, gays and others are not a passing phenomena or mere groupings of people around 'issues' as the sectarians argue. All of these movements have an anti-capitalist dynamic..." We are in agreement with this assessment, but feel nevertheless that the draft resolution makes insufficient mention of Gay Liberation as part of the student movement, and fails to analyze its role therein. Gay youth suffers from a unique oppression within the context of the oppression of youth in general. Gay Liberation plays and will continue to play an ever increasing role in the youth radicalization, and is an integral part thereof. This we cannot ignore.

The draft resolution includes demands calling for the availability of free birth control information and devices in the schools, and for coeducational sex education beginning in public school. It is in the spirit of these demands that we propose additional demands, also centering around youth sexuality. We propose that certain demands relative to Gay Liberation be included in our list of demands for the student movement.

We therefore propose for adoption by the convention the following amendment to the aforementioned draft resolution:

> (“) That the said draft resolution be so amended so as to include in our programme of demands for the student movement specific demands pertinent to Gay Liberation, which would include the following:
>
> -- Teach the truth about homosexuality -- in the curriculum, and by opening the doors to speakers from gay organizations.
>
> -- For the right of all students to express their sexuality.(“)

2.) We call upon the Y.S./L.J.S., as a student movement, to adopt an orientation to Gay Liberation. We propose that the Y.S./L.J.S. gear itself to intervene in Gay Liberation on campuses and in high schools, and to integrate it into its work in the student movement. With this our view, we propose the following for adoption by the movement, with the perspective that the leadership work out the specifics of its practical application.

> (“) That gay comrades be assigned, through Gay Liberation fractions, to work within campus homophile groups, to pose themselves as leaders in them, and to carry the civil rights programme put forward by the Gay Liberation movement.(“)

3.) The Plenum Report, with which the Y.S./L.J.S. solidarizes itself, states as its first recommendation: "We support the fight for gay civil liberties -- in our press, our education work, forums, etc." With this we agree, and recommend that the stated policy of press propagandizing be vigorously pursued.

However, particularly in the field of education, we feel that press coverage has been inadequate. We should like to mention the most recent issue of the *Young Socialist* (July-August) which carries a cover story dealing with the true history of the Indian people. Although welcome, we must recognize that our press does not reach an Indian milieu, and that the function of this article is to educate white students. Yet comparable educational coverage of homosexuality and Gay Liberation would reach the people directly concerned -- large numbers of gay students. In our readership, there are far more gays than Indians, and while Gay Liberation is part of the student radicalization, Indian Liberation is not. The *Young Socialist*, as a student paper, cannot ignore this. We are not criticizing educational coverage of the history of the Indian people, but we are recommending frequent educational articles pertinent to gays.

We therefore propose the following resolutions for adoption by the movement:

(“) 1.) That we frequently include in our press educational articles concerning anthropological, cultural, historical and other aspects of homosexuality, gay oppression and Gay Liberation.

2.) That we reaffirm and vigorously pursue our policy of reporting on all developments and activities of importance in the Gay Liberation movement.(“)

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Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

Volume 8
Number 7

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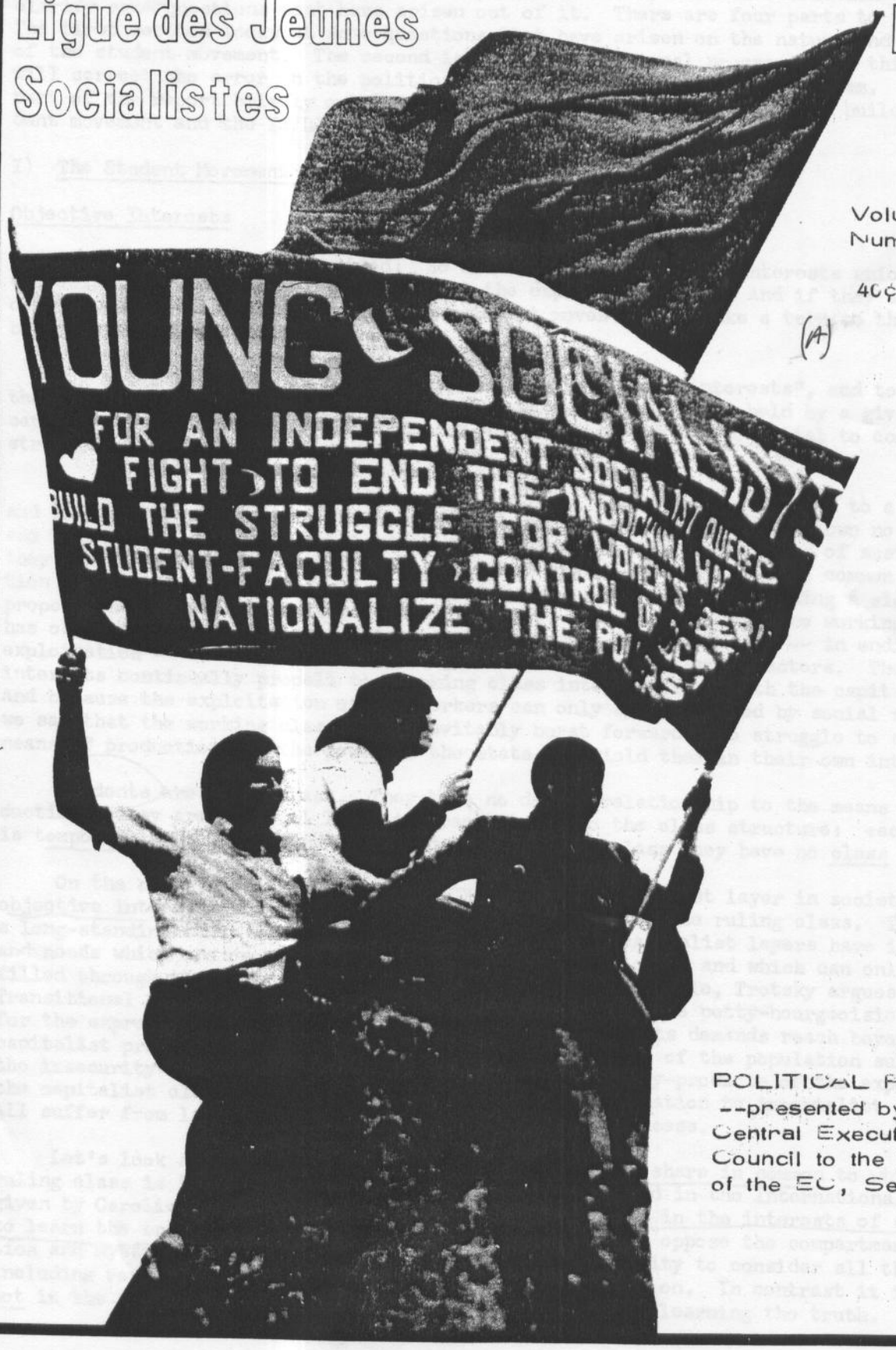

POLITICAL REPORT
--presented by the Central Executive Council to the plenum of the EC, Sept 8/72

The purpose of this report is to expand on the EC political resolution and to clarify some questions that have arisen out of it. There are four parts to the report. The first section looks at some questions that have arisen on the nature and direction of the student movement. The second is on the transitional program. The third section will correct the error in the political resolution on Canadian nationalism. The last part of the report briefly outlines in very broad terms how we can best build the student movement and the YS/LJS.

I) The Student Movement

Objective Interests

The question has been raised: Do students have objective interests which will inevitably lead them into struggle against the capitalist class? And if they don't, doesn't this mean that students or the student movement may take a turn to the right and become a reactionary force?

It is important to define what is meant by "objective interests", and to clarify the difference between class interests, and interests which are held by a given non-capitalist sector of the population that endows them with the potential to come into struggle at the side of the working class.

Let's start by looking at the working class. Workers are subjected to a definable and continuous measure of exploitation under capitalism. Because they own no capital and have no direct access to the instruments of production or to means of sustenance, they are forced to sell their labor power to survive. Workers share a common exploitation in that the capitalist class abstracts surplus value by withholding a significant proportion of the value of the workers labor for themselves. Thus the working class has objective, historic class interests in remedying this situation -- in ending their exploitation -- independent of any conjuncture or other external factors. These class interests continually propell the working class into collision with the capitalist class. And because the exploitation of the workers can only be eradicated by social revolution, we say that the working class will inevitably burst forward into struggle to seize the means of production and the power of the state and wield them in their own interests.

Students are not a class. They have no direct relationship to the means of production. They are a social layer in transition into the class structure: each student is temporarily declassé. Because students are not a class they have no class interests.

On the other hand, students like any other non-capitalist layer in society have objective interests which are opposed to the interests of the ruling class. This is a long-standing tenet of Marxist theory; that all non-capitalist layers have interests and needs which are opposed to those of the capitalist class and which can only be fulfilled through the working class coming to power. For example, Trotsky argues in The Transitional Program that it is even in the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie to fight for the expropriation of private property, and that all its demands reach beyond the capitalist property relations. All non-capitalist layers of the population suffer from the insecurity of capitalism. All are subjected to the by-products of the exploits of the capitalist class in its quest for profit -- from inflation to imperialist war. All suffer from lack of access to the decision making process.

Let's look at students. What interests do students share in common to which the ruling class is in opposition? Some of these are outlined in the International report given by Caroline Lund to the 1969 YSA Convention. It is in the interests of students to learn the truth: that is, it is in their interests to oppose the compartmentalization and mystification of knowledge; to have the opportunity to consider all theories including revolutionary Marxism; to hear all views and so on. In contrast it is clearly not in the interests of the ruling class to have students learning the truth.

It is in the interests of students to have a free education, to have a decent standard of living while they are attending school, to have adequate learning facilities and easy access to teachers and professors to discuss different questions. As the cutbacks poignantly illustrate, it is not in the interests of the capitalist class to grant these to students.

Students have an interest in controlling their schools and universities, in the freedom to act politically and to a relevant job during summers and upon graduation. Contrast this to the authoritarianism, political repression and unemployment of today, all of which are essential components of capitalist rule.

The common interests that students have as a non-capitalist sector of society gives them the potential to come into conflict with the capitalist class. It is from there that we can begin to analyse what factors have intervened to enable, or prevent students from realizing that potential.

Will the Student Movement Swing To The Right?

It has been argued that because students have no class interests, they are a layer that can vacillate, and the movements which flow out of the student milieu can go either to the side of the bourgeoisie or to the working class, can be reactionary or progressive, depending on the conjunctural factors at the time.

From a theoretical point of view there is no guarantee that the student movement will necessarily become an ally of the working class. All non-capitalist layers have an interest in the socialist revolution, but this does not guarantee that some layer will not become disoriented and act against its own interests.

For example, during the cultural revolution in China, the student Red Guard Movement was organized by Mao and LinPiao to strengthen their wing of the bureaucracy, under the guise of "defending the revolution." Chen Po Ta, who represented another wing, responded by organizing his own student movement. Both of these are examples of how the student movement can become disoriented and act against its own interests and the interests of the masses as a whole. (It is interesting to note that in this situation a third movement arose spontaneously on the campus and in the schools of revolutionary students who were opposed to the repression and the manipulation by the bureaucracy.)

So it is possible for a reactionary student movement to develop. There are no guarantees in Marxist theory that students will ally with the working class.

But we are living in a real and very concrete world that we have to deal with and build a revolutionary movement in. And if we examine the actual development of the international student movement during the current radicalization we see that in virtually every case the whole thrust of the student movement has been in a progressive direction. Across the globe -- in Ceylon, Bangla Desh, Malagasy, Britain, Canada, France, Argentina, the U.S., South Africa, Indonesia, Cambodia, West Germany, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Belgium, Egypt, to name a few -- across the globe students have moved out independently, have come into struggle against the forces of reaction, and have had an extremely powerful impact on the politicization of the working class on an international scale.

So as we stand here looking at the current radicalization we have to ask ourselves, why is this so? If students can go "either way", why haven't they? In order to understand the development of the student movement today and where it is headed we have to look at the concrete factors determining its origins and direction.

First we should examine how students fit into class society. The student condition is not a passing phase of capitalism. As Ernest Mandel puts it: "As long as capitalism exists there will be alienated labor, alienated manual labor and inevitably alienated intellectual labor, and thereby alienated students..." (The Revolutionary Student Movement, Theory and Practice, Merit 1969, pg. 9) And as technology advances, the capitalist class needs greater amounts of trained intellectual labor. This has been the reason for the tremendous expansion in education we have witnessed over the last period.

There are over 4½ million students in Canada -- almost 1/5 of the total population. The number of students in all post-secondary educational institutions increased 187% between 1961 and 1970, from 165,348 to 474,418. During the same period enrolment in post-secondary technical colleges, (such as community colleges and CEGEPS), increased 1100%. The federal government projection for the number of students it plans to have in post-secondary institutions in 1980 is 1,191,571. Although this is a slowdown in the rate of increase, it represents a substantial increment in the percentage of the number of youth in post-secondary training. In 1960-61, 1/10 of the population between the ages of 18 and 25 was enrolled in post-secondary institutions. By 1971-72 it has risen to 1/5; and the projection for 1980 is 1/3 of all those between 18 and 25. (Peitchinis,S. Financing Post-Secondary Education in Canada, Fed. Gov't. Publication)

So, because of the changing needs of capitalism and the resulting tremendous expansion of education, there has been a qualitative change in the character of the student population and the class background and class destiny of most students. Never before could we say that the overwhelming majority of students come from the working class, and in turn are thrust back out into the work force!

(By the way, it is important to make it clear that intellectual laborers are part of the proletariat. "The idea that Marx and Lenin reserved the term proletariat only for manual laborers is an absolutely false one. For Marx and Lenin, the proletariat included all those who are forced to sell their labor power because they do not own capital and have no direct access to the instruments of production or to the means of sustenance." (Ernest Mandel, Intercontinental Press, June 5, 1972, pg. 635) With this definition in mind it is clear that the majority of students today are the sons and daughters of the working class -- of the factory workers, the teachers, the office workers, the technicians, etc.)

So students have always been a layer in transition, but now they are essentially in transition from working class backgrounds into the work force. How does this effect consciousness? How does this effect which class students will most readily identify with? How does that effect the process of students fulfilling their potential to become allies of the working class in struggle?

Today the majority of students are presented with one ticket -- a ticket to the working class. This has an important effect on the process of students coming to identify with that class. And as the ruling class deepens its efforts to cut back on the high expectations students have about what will happen to them upon graduation, the one ticket alternative will be seen more clearly by more students. But students are not only in transition to the working class: for most of them their whole lives on this planet have been in a proletarian environment. They have been raised in workers' families, listening to parents talk about the job, argue over why there isn't enough money or explain to them why their father was on strike; they've been brought up in working class neighbourhoods, going through experiences with other workers' children. It is quite likely that throughout their lives the developing class consciousness of those around them has had an impact.

This sets the basis for our analysis of the factors generating the youth radicalization and the student movement. And this is what the draft political resolution attempts to outline. That is, students, sharing common interests are thrust together as a

transitional layer into the class educational institutions, during a period of the upsurge of the world revolution.

Temporarily freed from all the responsibilities that sustaining a family entails, most students have time to question different aspects of capitalist society on their lives. They are brought into colleges and universities which, on the surface, encourage people to use their minds. There is an atmosphere of intellectual endeavour -- of the "community of scholars" -- students are expected to think and to question. As well students are presented with an opportunity to interact continuously with each other -- to discuss things they have been reading or thinking about, and to plan and participate in various activities which are often political and in turn reach out to others.

Compare this to the situation young workers find themselves in. Most of their day is consumed in labor. (This is one of the reasons why the shorter work week is such an important struggle.) There is virtually no time to discuss ideas on the job, let alone read. Thinking is discouraged -- efficient production is what counts. (There are probably "BA s" in this room who have been told at a personnel desk, "We can't hire you -- you'd probably think too much.") As well workers have to stay in this situation because of responsibilities to support their families, to pay mortgages and so on.

Also students come into the educational institutions with inflated expectations as to what education and the world is all about. These high expectations clash with the harsh reality of capitalist society to produce a fundamental questioning. A recent cartoon in the YS put it in a nutshell. It had a youth standing there saying: "They told me to wait until I got to highschool: then they told me to wait until I got to University: But now that I'm here I still want to know -- when does my education begin?" The high expectations students hold about the university, clashing with the reality of their authoritarian, bureaucratic, alienating, stifling character has been an important factor behind the student radicalization. (Although we feel this point is overstated in the political resolution. It is not so much the oppressive character of the schools and universities, as the relative freedoms that students have, such as time to question, that has enabled the student movement to develop.)

The most important factor behind the world youth radicalization and the development of the international student movement has been the crisis of imperialism and the growing upsurge of the world revolution. Youth today have seen the bloody assaults of imperialism in its efforts to crush every developing struggle for liberation. And they have seen the hypocrisy of the rationalizations used by the capitalist class to justify their action. And as the political resolution states: "Our generation has come forward in a period of the rise of world revolution, when the oppressed are mobilizing across the globe. Youth have seen not only the necessity for change but also its possibility in the successful struggle of the Cubans and the inspiring example of the Vietnamese. These struggles hold out a promise for the future".

So getting back to the original question posed. Given the concrete reality which faces us today -- the conditions which have generated the student movement -- the question of whether students "can go either way" appears (at best) academic. There are no indications that neo-capitalism will cease its need for trained intellectual labor. Although they may attempt to alter its rate of growth or quality, massive post-secondary education is here to stay. There are no indications that the process of the proletarianization of intellectual labor will reverse: as technology expands so will the role of intellectual labor in the productive proces., and the degree to which students are of working class background and destiny will increase. There are no indications that the world revolution will subside; the crisis of imperialism and Stalinism is irreversible. There are no indications that the overall conditions which generated the youth radicalization and student revolt will be qualitatively altered. Consequently there is no material basis to speculate that the thrust of the student movement may shift to the right.

In fact, given the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism, there are strong indications that the youth radicalization will deepen, the student movement will continue to play an important role in the revolutionary process, and will continue to be an important arena for recruiting cadre for some period to come.

The Student Movement When The Working Class Moves

The third question I want to look at is the concept that when the working class comes into motion the student movement will be eclipsed, will fade out and disappear.

It is certainly true that when the workers move they dominate the struggle, simply because of their social weight and power in the productive process. But the student movement is both independent of, and dependent upon the working class. It is independent in that it can (and usually does) move out ahead of the working class in the early stages of the radicalization: it has its own independent dynamic which in turn has an important politicizing effect on the workers. As Mandel put it: "Students can play an independent role -- of course they can. Students can give the first impulse to revolutionary action, of course. They can have a revolutionary consciousness; nobody can deny that. Read the history of the past 80 or 90 years of the socialist movement and you will see that at numerous moments students played precisely the same role as they are doing today..." (The Revolutionary Student Movement, pg. 25). On the other hand the student movement is dependent on the working class in that in order to succeed it must ally with the workers. To win its overall demands it has no alternative but to reach out to and ally with the proletariat. And ultimately it must adopt the program of the working class for its own.

But history has shown that when the working class moves, all the struggles of the oppressed are amplified. The oppressed masses as a whole become inspired; they get a feeling of their power; their fears and lack of confidence vanish; their hatred for the oppressors is intensified. Far from disappearing, their struggles are uplifted.

The miners' struggle in Great Britain earlier this year is a case in point. There was a general upsurge of the student movement around more strictly student demands. During this, the miners came into motion, staging a nation-wide strike, which began around wage demands and then generalized into a nation-wide protest against the government's income policy of restricting wage demands to 8%. The strike did not pull the rug from under the student struggles, but intensified them. New layers came into the struggl The students took on miners' demands as well as their own, held solidarity actions, and the miners reciprocated.

Take just about any struggle where the working class has come into motion -- the picture is similar -- from May-June in France to Amchitka. You will remember the exhilarating effect the B.C. and Ontario Federations of Labor coming into action had on the Amchitka upsurge. Just imagine if the entire Canadian working class had moved -- if the parents, teachers, uncles and aunts of those students out in the streets as well as those who stayed in the classrooms had entered into the struggle!

What is true for these shorter struggles also applies over the whole period of the development of working class consciousness. As the class struggle as a whole intensifies, so do the movements and struggles of oppressed layers of the population.

Where Do These Errors Lead?

These three incorrect criticisms of the student movement -- that students have no common interests, that in Canada the student movement may swing to the right, and that as the working class moves the student movement disappears, contain a deprecation of the importance of the student movement, and go in the direction of arguing that the vanguard

should orient more to workers in this period. There are a number of important concepts to understand here.

First, in the absence of a major radicalization of the working class, the orientation of developing revolutionary parties (especially through an independent youth movement) to the student movement is very important. This is the arena where developing cadre are to be gained in this period. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that the majority of recruits in every section of the Fourth International since 1968 have been students.

Second, it is important to dispell any concept that students somehow make inferior cadre. A bolshevik is a class struggle revolutionary socialist, and one's relationship to the means of production doesn't effect whether or not he or she can become a good bolshevik. When we say that the LSA/LSO is a working class organization, we don't mean that it is a party of workers. It means that it aspires to be a party with an essentially proletarian composition and to win hegemony over the working class. But the vanguard is concerned with all aspects of oppression, not just that of the workers. In What is to be Done, Lenin polemecized sharply on this question: "the ideal of a Social Democrat (revolutionary socialist) should not be a trade union secretary, but a popular tribune who knows how to react to all sundry expressions of arbitrariness and oppression wherever they occur , whichever strata or class they effect; who knows how to generalize all these expressions into one picture of capitalist exploitation, who knows how to utilize every little thing in order to expound before all men his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, to explain to each and everyone the universal significance of the liberating struggle of the proletariat." (What is to be Done, Panther Edition, 124-5, Emphasis in original).

Third, the degree to which the vanguard orients to a particular layer is not necessarily proportional to that layer's importance in the revolutionary process. For example, we put more weight on our intervention in the student movement than the weight which we attribute to the student movement in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. This is because at this time the greatest gains in terms of cadre are to be made there.

Fourth, the degree of intervention of the vanguard in the student movement is also contingent on its size. Because we are only a small propaganda group, we must orient to the layers where we can most rapidly recruit future cadre. If we were much larger and could have an important impact on the working class we would tend to shift our intervention somewhat.

Fifth, our experience has shown that the best way to bring radicalizing youth to Trotskyism is through an independent revolutionary socialist youth organization, which developing students can easily identify with, join, and go through a training experience in struggle. The political and organizational resolutions outline why this is so.

II) The Transitional Program

The next part of this report looks at three questions that have arisen on the transitional program vis-a-vis the student movement.

The political resolution outlines how the student movement requires a general orientation and a set of demands that can link it most effectively to the working class struggle and enable it to best play its important role in the radicalization. It outlines how our red university strategy is based on the revolutionary potential of the student movement (its independent dynamic in mobilizing masses of students into struggle which effects broader layers) and on its limitations (students can't make the revolution alone). We advance this strategy because it is the logical direction of student

struggles -- that is to use the schools and campuses as organizing centres against all oppression -- and that it enables developing student revolutionists to clearly see how their struggles as students fit into the overall struggle against capitalism.

Within this overall orientation we advance a set of transitional and democratic demands that can enable the student movement to most acutely follow its anti-capitalist path.

The first question is: Is it possible to have a seperate transitional program for students? We should be very clear about this: we have only one transitional program. It is a program for the conquest of power by the working class and its allies.

It should be noted that the transitional program is not our entire program. The program of the Trotskyist movement "consists of the totality of lessons drawn from the struggle for socialism since the beginning of the working class movement." (Pierre Frank, Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism, 7).

Today we are faced with a situation where students are moving out into political action. We have applied our transitional approach to this development in formulating a set of demands that can steer the student movement most sharply along its progressive path. This set of transitional and democratic demands, that has come out of the experience of the international student movement is not a seperate transitional program, but part of our overall transitional program. It is an application of the transitional approach completely in keeping with the outline of the 1938 document. In it Trotsky wrote: "The Sections of the Fourth International should with all possible concreteness develop a program concerning the peasants (farmers) and urban petty bourgeoisie and comformable to the conditions of each country." This is only one instance where Trotsky encouraged comrades to develop programs for given sectors of the population or a special circumstance.

How Do We Win The Left?

A second question is: To whom should we orient to on the campuses? It has been argued that we should direct our agitation and propaganda towards the student left -- towards the socialists on various campuses and high schools, and not also towards the masses of students.

I would like to restate the position of the YS/LJS on this question. We want to win the student left to our movement, but the way we do this is not by orienting our movement to them and presenting our program from the point of view of pleasing them, but from working to build and lead the whole student movement, advancing demands that can best take the student movement forward, and within that context carefully explain the revolutionary implications of our actions to other socialists.

The transitional program is not a program for the vanguard; it is a program of the vanguard. It is designed for the masses. As Trotsky explains, it is "a system of demands stemming from today's conditions and today's consciousness and leading to one final conclusion -- the conquest of power by the proletariat." (Transitional Program,7). It is like a toolkit, and which tools we use depends on the job at hand. The demands that are appropriate for a given struggle or movement are chosen on the basis of the objective needs of the masses and what can best build their struggles. We have no concept of the "objective needs of the left."

What is true for the program as a whole is also true for its student component. Of course, we want to win the student left to the YS/LJS. But this is not done by abandoning our transitional approach, our concept of program and who it is designed for.

It is done by our principled efforts to build the struggles of students, advance demands which can best mobilize students against the capitalist state, and within that context explain to developing revolutionists why this is what revolutionary Marxists do.

For example in Ontario we are in the middle of the struggle to defend the left wing of the NDP. Some comrades thought the thrust of our response to the Lewis attack should be to make the central issue in the struggle "revolutionary socialism." They argued that it was not our task to respond to this assault by building a campaign around the democratic rights of party members to caucus, but that we should concentrate on explaining the bankruptcy of social democracy and the necessity for a revolutionary party. They thought that by taking this course we could best show other revolutionists in the NDP that we are real, militant socialists, and they would come towards our movement.

Instead we took the principled stand of intervening from the point of view of what could best build the struggle. We built the fight back campaign, argued for the necessity to stay in the NDP and at the same time we explained to other socialists how what we were doing flows from a revolutionary Marxist analysis of the labor party in the struggle for socialism.

As a result the best revolutionary militants in the NDP have moved much closer to Trotskyism. Several have already applied to join the LSA/LSO. One reason they are coming towards us is that they are seeing that we are a principled movement with a correct orientation to the labor party.

Another example is our whole experience in the antiwar movement. We have always rejected the idea of putting forward more "revolutionary" sounding demands which would somehow be attractive to the far left. Instead we've consistently argued for the demands which could best bring masses of people in the streets to effectively defend the Vietnamese revolution. This has enabled us to recruit large numbers of radicalizing youth as well as those on the left who came to understand the importance of defending the Vietnamese.

Formulating our program and orienting our activities towards the left is dangerous from all sides. It is an incorrect way to build our movement because it would isolate and seperate us from the various social movements and forms of struggle that flow from the current radicalization. It is detrimental to the mass movement because it would deny it the experience and participation of the revolutionary socialists. And it miseducates the left as to what the tasks of revolutionary socialists are -- for example teaching them that it is not the task of revolutionists to fight for democratic rights when attacked in the labor party, to defend the Vietnamese revolution by fighting to build a mass antiwar movement, and in all to reach out to the masses of people.

Call To Action

The third question I want to look at is that of "calling the masses to action." It has been argued that it is not a task of the vanguard to call the masses to action -- that our task is to "explain ideas to people" -- and that by "calling people into action" the YS/LJS is deviating from Marxism.

It would certainly be useful for the discussion to have what is meant by "It is not our task to call the masses to action", clarified. Does it mean that we should not work to mobilize masses of people into struggle against the oppression of capitalism? That would certainly be a revision of revolutionary socialist theory, for the Marxist holds that the masses learn through action, and that the task of the vanguard is to reach out to the masses with a revolutionary program to move them into struggle against the capitalist class and its state. This is what our transitional program is for.

For example Trotsky wrote in the 1938 document: "He who does not seek and does not find the road to the masses is not a fighter but a dead weight to the party. A program is formulated not for the editorial board, or for the leaders of discussion clubs, but for the revolutionary action of millions." (Transitional Program,44)

Perhaps it means that we should not be organizers of action -- that we should "explain ideas to people" and leave the organization of the struggle up to others. This would also be a new concept to Marxism. Marxists theory holds that we strive not only to be organizers of the mass struggle, but the best organizers. Note what Lenin had to say about this: "We must go into all classes of the population as theorists, as the best propagandists, as agitators and as organizers." (Lenin, What is to be Done? 125)

Perhaps it means that we should not organize demonstrations -- that we shouldn't project and lead concrete actions such as abortion demonstrations, or International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam. Again, this is not Marxism. The theses on The Communist Attitude to Parliamentary Reformism, adopted in 1920 was a directive to develo ing communist parties around the world. Note what it had to say: "The fundamental meth of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is first of all the method of mass action. Such mass action is prepared and carried out by the organize masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united disciplined centralized Communist Party... The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form and logically leading to an uprising against the capital order of government." (Quoted in Aspects of Socialist Election Policy, SWP, March 1971,7

By counterposing "calling the masses to action" with "explaining ideas to people", these comrades are making a serious theoretical error. Of course it is our task to explain ideas to people, but we don't do this to titilate their intellects. We do it to move them into action against the state, and to bring them, through struggle, towards our movement. The two tasks are not mutually exclusive: they go hand in hand.

Step back and take a look at the logic of the mistaken concept that is being put forward. If we shouldn't participate in calling the masses to action, then we would not participate in various united fronts that exist to do that; we would cut ourselves off from the radicalization and the different independent movements that express it. If it isn't a task of the vanguard to move masses of people into action, then why do we need a transitional program that is designed precisely to do that? If our task is to explair ideas to people devoid of any intent of moving them into struggle, then why do we need a party and a youth movement -- a newspaper would do just as well.

Finally it leads in the direction of a sterile, unidimensional concept of building revolutionary leadership, in which the vanguard stimulates people's minds with interesti revolutionary ideas so that they'll see that they should join us. Our concept of buildi a party and a revolutionary socialist youth organization is very different. By intervening in, identifying with, building and leading the different social movements and struggles that the radicalization generates, with our transitional program, our mass action strategy and revolutionary socialist propaganda we can recruit to our ranks the best militants that the radicalization pushes forward.

III) Canadian Nationalism

The next section of this report will look at the question of Canadian nationalism and clarify some theoretical concepts raised. The political and antiwar resolutions both mention the importance of a nationalist, pro-Canada sentiment which is an important part of the radicalization. Canadian nationalism is depicted as something which is not directed in support of the Canadian bourgeoisie; which is leading many people to see the necessity of a struggle to win control of Canada by the Canadian people; and which has an anti-imperialist thrust. This was something new: if adopted this would have been a break with our traditional anti-nationalist line. As was explained in the CEC memorandu this is incorrect.

As Marxists, we know that we must be very scientific in the use of terminology and the formulation of concepts. We don't make a fuss everytime someone calls the Soviet Union a socialist country: but that is not what we call it. We know that it is a workers' state, and we didn't formulate this concept on the basis of what others call the Soviet Union, but on the basis of science. We have analysed the objective situation in the Soviet Union -- how in the Russian revolution capitalism was toppled by the masses of workers and peasants; how a planned economy was established, and how certain conditions led to the evolution of a parasitic, bureaucratic caste. And we must examine the phenomenon of Canadian nationalism in the same scientific manner.

Marxist theory explains that all nationalism is bourgeois nationalism. It arises from the struggle to establish an independent nation state, free from foreign domination which is historically part of the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolutions. But because of the uneven development of capitalism and the struggle for socialism, not all nationalities have been able to achieve their nationhood. There are essentially three situations where nationalism plays the same kind of progressive role in the revolutionary process: in a colony or semi-colony, in an oppressed nationality within an advanced capitalist country, and in an oppressed nationality within a bureaucratic workers' state.

Within the workers' states, when an oppressed people comes into struggle against their national oppression -- the denial of the equal rights to speak their language, the right to self determination, their equal rights to express their culture, etc. -- through action they quickly generalize about the nature of the bureaucracy which oppresses them and about the necessity to conduct a political revolution to enable them to fulfill their national aspirations. We are seeing this today in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and many other countries.

Similarily, in the advanced capitalist countries, the oppression of national minorities such as the Quebecois, Blacks or Chicanos is crucial to their radicalization and in turn affects the radicalization of the working class as a whole in those countries. Their national struggle becomes the envelope of the class struggle, propelling it forward by bringing the oppressed masses into conflict with the capitalist state.

In the colonial world, where the bourgeois revolutions have not yet taken place -- where the national bourgeoisies have been unable to consolidate state power -- nationalism plays the same kind of role. The national bourgeoisie of a colony, in this epoch of world imperialism, is too weak to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolutions: they are too weak to seize and hold state power, to win national independence, to carry out agrarian reform, and so on. As a result the struggles around national demands flow over past the national democratic tasks to those of the socialist revolution. The oppressed masses, in their struggles for national rights, begin to call into question the right of the minority to rule and are drawn into a showdown for state power. This is the process of permanent revolution we are witnessing across the colonial world -- through Asia, Latin America and Africa -- today. In a semi-colony -- a country which has achieved political independence but is still under imperialist control -- the same dynamic is in operation. As a struggle for national liberation from the imperialists unfolds, the national bourgeoisie inevitably blocks with the imperialists in order to maintain the status-quo: the lines are drawn and the question is posed -- who rules, the minority or the majority?

In the advanced capitalist countries the situation is very different. The national bourgeoisie has been able to carry out the major tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolutions. They have established political independence and a common territory and are firmly in control of the state apparatus -- having their own armies, police, courts, laws, governments, etc. In these countries nationalism is an expression of the ideology of the ruling class. Its essential function is to assert the identity of interests of

all classes with the capitalist state. It is used as an instrument to cut across the development of class consciousness, to mobilize the population to defend the interests of the ruling class (such as for the slaughter of imperialist war) and to uphold the oppression and economic exploitation of peoples inside and outside the boundaries of the country.

Where does Canada fit in? Canada is an advanced capitalist country; it is not a colony or a semi-colony but an imperialist nation. The Canadian ruling class controls the key sector of the economy -- banking and finance. Canadian bankers are among the most powerful in the world, holding assets of over $50 billion -- theoretically enough to buy back all foreign capital in Canada. Other key sectors such as insurance, steel, agricultural machinery, and construction are dominated by Canadian capitalists. All the essential national-democratic tasks have been solved (for the dominant nationality); there is political independence, the Canadian capitalist class has its own state with its army, police, courts, educational system, parliament, etc. There is a common language (that of the dominant nationality) and territory. The Canadian ruling class has extensive holdings in the Carribean, Latin America and Europe. As well it exploits an internal colony -- the Quebec nation.

Because Canada is an advanced capitalist country, Canadian nationalism is a reactionary phenomenon. The Canadian capitalist class has used it throughout Canada's history to win support for imperialist war and aggression, for which the First World War was not the beginning and the Second World War was not the last. It is used to convince citizens that people of all classes have common interests and thus to block the development of class consciousness and organization along class lines. That "we Canadians can't compete on a world market without a wage freeze";that "we Canadians should support our hockey team"; that "we Canadians need Canadian (rather than working class) universities". It is used to justify and win support for the exploitation of oppressed nations. That "we Canadians must protect our interests in the Carribean"; that "we Canadians should stand together and understand together and make sure that our country is not split apart".

In a period of growing challenges to bourgeois rule in Canada, the ruling class will find nationalism an increasingly useful and necessary ideological weapon, as for example in opposing the growing challenges by the Quebecois and others to the integrity of the Canadian capitalist state. In fact, we have to keep in mind the historical necessity of the Canadian ruling class to resort to fascism. As the class struggle expands and the ensuing crisis deepens the only alternatives for everyone are radical ones -- of the left or of the right. The only radical variant that remains within capitalist property relations is fascism. And the historical bridge or vehicle on which the capitalist class can bring fascism about is nationalism. History has shown this over and over again.

This is the way we have to examine Canadian nationalism -- starting not with some abstract sentiment we see floating around, but with the objective conditions for its existence.

Is there a "new nationalism" flowing out of the relationship between Canada and the United States, which is revolutionary in character? This is the position of many of our opponents -- not that "old style" bourgeois nationalism is progressive, but that there is some kind of new phenomenon which has grown up beside it.

We have to ask ourselves: Is there some new process occuring in which Canada is being reduced to a semi-colony? Is Canada being de-industrialized? Is Canada becoming an oppressed, rather than an imperialist nation? Do we consider U.S. ownership of corporations in Canada any more harmful to Canadian workers than Canadian ownership? Do Canadian textbooks distort the reality of class society any less than American textbooks? Can a movement to "Canadianize" the universities bring any more class

content into the bourgeois educational system?

Well, with the evidence we have to date the answer to all of these question is, clearly, no. Unless it can be shown that there is a new process occuring where Canada is being reduced to a semi-colony, there is no basis for some kind of "new nationalism" As it stands now, Canada is an advanced capitalist country and we oppose Canadian nationalism in its every form.

Well then, what is this "third component of the radicalization" that the political resolution talks about? Let's look at what was said. The political resolution identifies three major components of the youth radicalization. The first is feminism, the movement of an oppressed sex. The second is Quebecois nationalism, the movement of an oppressed nation. On these two points there is no confusion. The third component, however, is variously termed "nationalism", "anti-imperialism", "anti-U.S. imperialism", and opposition to "U.S. domination". It's time for us to be a bit more precise about what we're talking about.

As I've explained, there is no basis in English Canada for a progressive nationalism. We do not call for a movement for Canadian independence, for nationalization of U.S. interests, for Canadian national liberation, or for any common national goals. We're not trying to unite the nation, but to divide it along class lines. We're not nationalists. We're for the class struggle.

But there is a component of the youth radicalization that's worth talking about. We just need to identify it more precisely. It's not a <u>movement</u> -- it's not on behalf of an oppressed sector of Canadian society. It's something quite different. It's anti-imperialism, that we explained is behind the youth radicalization. As we've said the youth radicalization has tended to grow around key issues of world politics, and specifically about the crimes of world imperialism. The anti-bomb movement, pacifism, opposition to war pacts and to the arms race, opposition to the French war in Algeria, to the American blockade of Cuba, to the U.S. war in Indochina, to the British war in Ireland, to U.S. oppression of the Blacks and to Canada's oppression of the Quebecois -- all these movements have one theme in common: objectively they stand in opposition to the crimes of world imperialism.

This is a very progressive, very radical development. We want to deepen it, to deepen understanding of what imperialism is. Because it isn't just Washington, or France, or Britain that's the problem. It's imperialism as a world system. And Canada is a part of that world system; Canada is an imperialist country tied in fully to its system of world exploitation. The anti-Vietnam war movement is not <u>consciously</u> anti-imperialist. It's anti-war, pacifist. And that's good. But <u>objectively</u> it's anti-imperialist, because it's combating imperialist exploitation of the colonial world. We want to develop <u>conscious</u> anti-imperialist understanding, prove how this includes the imperialism of Canada's rulers, and thus turn it in an anti-capitalist direction.

This is what we did in the cases of Amchitka, and of Vietnam. Many people think that it's <u>U.S.</u> imperialism which is our enemy, and don't understand the imperialist character of Canada. Many go further and think that Canada is dominated by U.S. imperialism, and we should struggle against U.S. domination. But that's not the direction we want to lead people. Because that direction doesn't help people understand the need for a struggle against capitalism right here in Canada, against our own ruling class. That's why we don't want to lead these kinds of people in a nationalist direction; we want to intervene with demands which pose the class issues and which lead them in an anti-capitalist direction. We're not for pro-Canada concepts, for anti-U.S. sentiment. We're for building opposition to the Canada of the capitalists, and support for the struggle of all the oppressed in this country.

This is what we did in Amchitka. Amchitka was a mass anti-bomb, pacifist, anti-war action that was fueled by the disgust for the American government and its war machine. In total it was an important and exciting development for the Canadian student movement. But it was a perfect example of the way in which nationalism will be used in an attempt to de-rail struggles. Instead of focusing on U.S. consulates or symbols of the Canadian government, partner to the U.S. war machine, in some occasions it took youth to the U.S. border, or had them waving Canadian flags or singing "Oh Canada". The Canadian capitalist class was able to use nationalism to divert the upsurge from focusing on themselves. This presented an obstruction to masses of students from transforming their anger against Nixon and the U.S. government into an understanding of how capitalism is the problem and Trudeau and his government are part of the whole thing.

Our intervention in Amchitka was essentially correct. We attempted to tie in the war in Vietnam with the bomb blast and we explained the role of the Canadian government. Note what the October editorial in the Young Socialist had to say: "The meek "protest" of the Canadian government to Washington had no effect. Nixon knows very well that Canada is a part of the U.S. war machine. Canada is a major supplier of military hardware and research for the U.S., a member of the NATO and NORAD military pacts and the Canadian government has committed itself in almost every way to the policies of the U.S. war makers. Trudeau's expressions of concern are sheer hypocrisy.

"We must unite every group opposed to the war (in Vietnam) and the test, to confront the Canadian government's policies of death and destruction and to unite with people around the world to demand an end to the war. Stop Amchitka! End Canadian complicity in the U.S. war machine! Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam!"

Although we had considerable success in tying in the war -- several of the largest demonstrations had Stop Amchitka, Stop the War! as their central slogan -- it was obviously more difficult to win wide acceptance of Canadian complicity demands.

Our record is clear on these questions; we have intervened consistently to build anti-capitalist consciousness and to cut across nationalist illusions. This is what we must do in our work this fall.

First we want to take on Canadian nationalism at every good opportunity that is presented. In our press, forums and day to day work we should explain that capitalism is capitalism, whether Canadian or American: that the issue in the federal elections is not "Canada's integrity" as Trudeau would have us believe, but which class will rule; that a quota system on foreign professors is a racist diversion from the real problem of the universities; that Canadians don't need "Canadian universities" but universities that serve the working class, that serve the oppressed layers of Canadian society.

Second, we want to explain the brutal role of U.S. imperialism as cop of the world, and argue for the necessity of concrete actions against its specific crimes (especially in Vietnam), while at the same time placing demands on the Canadian government to expose the role of the Canadian bourgeoisie. This is why the demand "End Canada's Complicity" is so important for the anti-war movement. In order to create an anti-capitalist consciousness the question of our ruling class must be raised in any struggle. Throughout the history of the Canadian anti-war movement, our battles to keep this demand central have always been with nationalists who failed to understand the role of the Canadian capitalist class in the exploits of world imperialism.

Third, situations will arise where an anti-U.S. feeling is a factor, in student struggles. In these cases we intervene propagandisticly with our class analysis, explaining that the problem is capitalism and the solution is for the working class and its allies to come to power, while arguing that demands be directed at the Canadian government.

The reopening of the discussion on Canada-U.S. relations is just beginning. The LSA/LSO Central Committee is producing a document on the question for the pre-convention discussion. And the CEC will be continuing research and discussion on it and developing further the basic concepts outlined above.

Two other lessons of Marxism were reinforced during the discussion and correction of our error. One is the crucial importance of examining new factors in the radicalization in terms of their objective basis. Another is the importance of precision and scientific accuracy with the use of our terms. We feel that terms like "anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment", "revolutionary dynamic", and "objective interests", if not carefully defined, can be misleading and can cause confusion. This plenum and the rest of the pre-convention discussion will clear up any ambiguities that exist.

IV) Where Must We Focus Our Work

In the remainder of the report I want to outline in very broad terms how we can best build the revolutionary leadership that is essential for a successful social revolution. This will be outlined concretely in the reports to follow in the rest of the plenum.

We have decided that we can best contribute to the struggle by building a revolutionary socialist youth movement -- a movement that can most effectively take the experience of the Marxist movement into the struggles of students, and which on the other hand can most easily bring the best militants who come out of the youth radicalization to Trotskyism.

The way we build the YS/LJS is by identifying with, building, and working to lead the key struggles of students and at the same time aggressively introducing our socialist propaganda to student militants. In order to have the greatest impact, we concentrate our forces into the key struggles of students. We are a campaign movement. You can't make much of a puddle if you're dripping water all over the parking lot. Through our experience and our analysis of the factors behind the student revolt we have assessed that there are three central struggles in the student milieu where our work at this time must be focused -- the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement and the nationalist movement in Quebec. The struggles against the war in Vietnam, women's oppression and national oppression in Quebec have been at the heart of the student movement in Canada and will continue to be so for some time to come.

First on the antiwar movement. The fight against the war has been at the centre of the student movement for over seven years. This is quite understandable considering that the effort of the imperialists to crush the developing world revolution -- especially in Vietnam -- has been the prime factor behind the international youth radicalization.

The backbone of the Canadian antiwar movement has always been students, starting with the November 1965 actions which brought thousands out into the streets, and the March '66 demonstrations that involved 3,000 students in Ottawa and 5,000 in Vancouver. In 1965 SAWV was formed in the high schools and the antiwar movement continued to expand, culminating in actions of thousands in cities across Canada in the fall of 1969 and the Kent-Cambodia upsurge in the spring of 1970. Since then student antiwar activity has been on a lower scale, although there have been significant ongoing actions such as April 24, 1971 (which brought out 8,000 people in 15 cities), Amchitka (which was partially an anti-Vietnam war action), the April 15 and 22 demonstrations this year and recent Hiroshima rallies just this August which brought out over a thousand people in both Vancouver and Ottawa. Throughout the period there have been numerous actions against war research as well as conferences, rallies, teachins, etc.

The YS/LJS has been the most consistent builder of the antiwar movement, and on the other hand it has been from the antiwar movement that we have built the YS/LJS.

The antiwar resolution explained that the key factor behind the relative lull in the antiwar movement over the last period has been the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats: "Their formation of a de facto united front to force the Vietnamese to abandon their struggle has given powerful credence to Nixon's demagogy about 'Winding down the war'. The Nixon-Brezhnev-Mao detente has deflated the antiwar movement in the U.S. and Canada." The resolution also outlines our responsibilities in this situation: "For over seven years Vietnam has been the acid test for revolutionary socialists. As Fidel Castro said in his June speech in Poland, 'Vietnam today is the supreme test of proletarian internationalism: Vietnam is the supreme test of Marxist-Leninist principles'. Because of the centrality of the Vietnamese struggle to the world revolution we as revolutionary socialists do everything possible to defend the Vietnamese revolution as a matter of principle. We do everything our resources will permit to change the relationship of forces in favour of the Vietnamese. This means building the antiwar movement. Irrespective of its size or whether or not it is in a lull, we strive to mobilize as many people as possible against the imperialist onslaught. By doing consistent work in lulls we are preparing for the upsurges to come."

Now, in the face of the betrayal, when the only ally of the Vietnamese is the international antiwar movement, our responsibilities as revolutionists and internationalists to work to build a defence are even greater. The possibilities are there: a Gallup poll of February '72 showed that 51% of Canadians think the U.S. should not have sent troops to Vietnam in the first place and another 22% were undecided. For university students it was 59%. The August Vancouver and Ottawa actions show that the antiwar movement is still very much alive.

Our number one campaign this year in English Canada will be to work to mobilize the student sentiment that exists into action. This will be done through a broad educational campaign explaining that the war is not winding down, the role of the Canadian government, and the necessity for student socialists and radicals of defending the Vietnamese revolution. We want to focus this work towards the foundation of a cross-country Student Mobilization Committee and work towards the International Day of Protest on November 18.

How we can best do this will be outlined concretely in the fall perspectives report

In Quebec it has been nationalism that has propelled the student movement forward. This fight to defend the French language has resulted in the largest mass actions in recent Canadian history. Because the question of language is the most central and blatantly visible aspect of national oppression, it has been the struggle to defend French as the language of study and work that the student movement and the nationalist movement as a whole have focused upon. The mass CEGEP occupations of 1968 and the demonstrations of tens of thousands of Quebec students against Bill 63 in 1969 were by no means the beginning or the end of the language struggle. As the class struggle deepens so does the student wing of the nationalist movement.

We can see this happening in Quebec right now. Coming out of the May labor upsurge the student movement and language struggle have intensified. The Quebec report will describe how students came into action last May and where the struggle is going now. But just briefly on the present situation. Because of Bill 63, which was introduced to speed up the process of Anglicization, several French language schools in Quebec have been closed down. Parents are forced to send their children to English schools and the French schools are becoming vacant. Plans are underway to shut down forty French language schools! This has set the basis for massive student struggles to defend the French language. Preparations have been underway all summer and one French school is being occupied at this moment. Because of our consistent work in the language campaign, the LJS is in a good position to make important gains.

So, in Quebec the central campaign to build the LJS will be our work in the student wing of the language struggle.

Finally on the women's liberation movement. We have analysed how women coming into struggle against the oppression they face under class society are becoming an important independent political force in the revolutionary process. Again, it has been students who have been the backbone of the movement. The first important action was the LJS "drink-in" in a Montreal pub in 1969, where we defied the discriminatory laws against women in taverns and introduced the fact that women were coming into struggle. The Miss University Contest demonstration held in Waterloo in January 1970, in which YS/LJS women were leaders, marked the end of those anti-women pageants. After that came the abortion caravan which was organized largely by student women.

The abortion caravan was the first action that showed that a mass feminist movement was going to evolve in Canada. Since then, when women have come into the streets against their oppression, in nearly every case it has been around the struggle for the right to choose whether or not they will bear a child.

The impact of the growing feminist consciousness can be seen from the rise of women's studies courses on campuses across the country to the plethora of feminist newspapers which have emerged, to the response to the abortion referenda held on campuses last spring. But the organized movement is just really beginning. Women have yet to learn that the way to fight their oppression is mass action. All indications show that the abortion struggle will be the focus of this process.

The women's liberation movement continues to present good opportunities for us to build the YS/LJS. Since last Christmas the abortion campaign has been our prime arena of recruitment. But by having a better understanding of how the abortion campaign fits into the women's liberation movement and the struggle for socialism as a whole we can make our intervention much more effective. This is what will be outlined in the Women's Liberation and Fall Perspectives reports.

There will be a number of important political events taking place this fall -- the federal election, the cutback struggles on campuses and in the high schools, municipal elections, the formation of the Left Caucus, moves towards the establishment of a national student union and so on -- but it is essential that we understand where our priorities must lie, that is, where we can best contribute to the struggle and where we can best build the YS/LJS. And those are the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and the nationalist movement in Quebec. These have provided and will continue to provide the on-going base of the student movement and the base for building the YS/LJS. These are our central campaigns.

Within that context we want to participate in struggles and important political activities that arise, such as the cutbacks, or the federal election with our revolutionary socialist propaganda and theory and if possible relating these activities to our central campaigns. By utilizing increased student political sensitivity in a cutback struggle or during an election campaign, etc., we can further build the crucial antiwar, women's liberation and Quebecois nationalist struggles while at the same time raising the political level of the original activity and enabling us to best build the YS/LJS.

How we can concretely build these three central campaigns, intervene in other issues that arise and more effectively disseminate our Marxist propaganda and theory to students will be examined in the remaining plenum reports.

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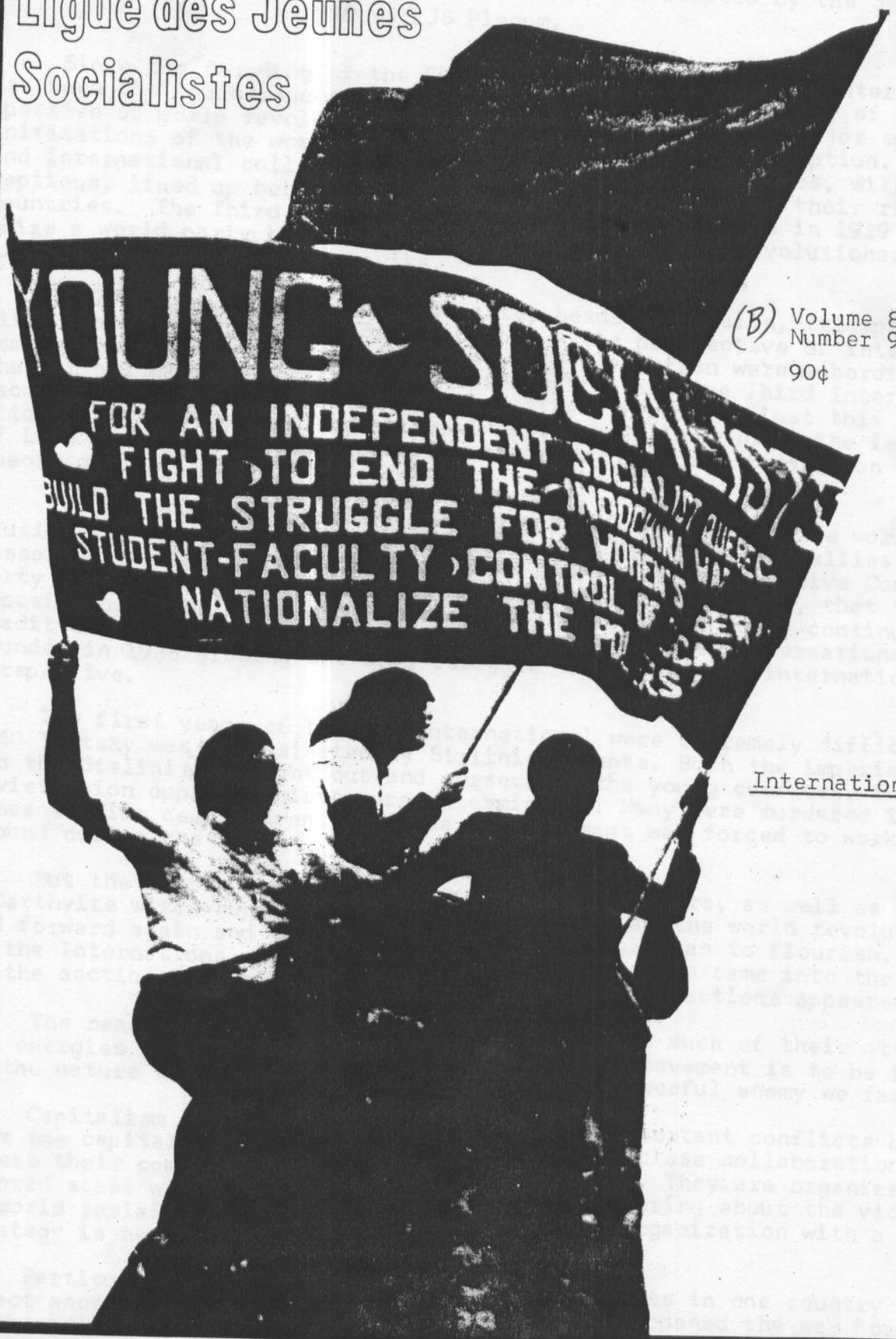
Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972 (sept.)

(B) Volume 8 Number 9 (41pp)
90¢



International Report

International Report, presented by Al Cappe and adopted by the September 1972 YS/LJS Plenum.

Since the founding of the First International in 1864, internationalism has been the touchstone of the Marxist movement. The primacy of a perspective of world revolution, has been the question behind major splits and unifications of the world socialist movement since its inception. The Second International collapsed in 1914 as its component parties, with few exceptions, lined up behind the imperialist war machines of their respective countries. The Third Communist International was founded in 1919 to organize a world party based on the internationalist and revolutionary principles of the Russian Bolsheviks.

As a privileged bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin, triumphed in the first workers state -- the Soviet Union -- the perspective of internationalism was abandoned. The needs of the world revolution were subordinated to the narrow, national needs of the bureaucracy; and the Third International became nothing but a tool to this end. The struggle against this degeneration was waged by the International Left Opposition, under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, who counterposed a strategy for world revolution to Stalin's theory of "Socialism in One Country".

The Third International abandoned its role of leading the world revolution and finally, under the pressure of Stalin's wartime allies, was dissolved in 1943. It was ten years earlier, after the massive Communist Party in Germany had capitulated to fascism without a fight, that the Left Opposition called for a new international -- one that could continue the traditions of the First, Second and Third. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 growing out of a struggle to maintain an internationalist perspective.

The first years of the new international were extremely difficult. In 1940 Trotsky was assassinated by Stalinist agents. Both the imperialists and the Stalinists sought out and persecuted the young comrades. In the Soviet Union oppositionists were exterminated. Many were murdered in Nazi concentration camps. Even in Canada the movement was forced to work underground during the war.

But the Fourth International survived these years, as well as the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the early '50's. And as the world revolution surged forward again and the current radicalization began to flourish, sections of the International were rebuilt: new revolutionists came into the ranks of the sections which had remained intact, and new sections appeared.

The reason why revolutionists have devoted so much of their attention and energies to the building of an international movement is to be found in the nature of the capitalist system and the powerful enemy we face.

Capitalism is a world system, and despite important conflicts between them the capitalists of all countries maintain a close collaboration to defeat their common enemy -- the world revolution. They are organized on a world scale with an international strategy. To bring about the victory of world socialist revolution, an international organization with a counter strategy is necessary.

Particularly in this age of imperialism, events in one country deeply affect another. The victorious revolution in Cuba opened the way for the youth radicalization of the 60's. In fact, it is impossible for revolut-

ionists to understand the events of their own country unless they have an international view, studying the struggle for markets, the interimperialist rivalries that affect national economies etc. For example, our understanding of the central role of Vietnam in the world revolution made us best able to respond to the radicalization in Canada.

Secondly, a world movement is necessary to overcome the divisions of the oppressed into national boundaries and nation states. The ruling class uses national chauvinism and exploits language, cultural and social differences to cut across any international solidarity.

Internationalism and the construction of an international movement are necessary if the experiences in various parts of the world are to be absorbed, and the lessons of struggles are to be passed on to revolutionists around the world. Moreover a world strategy is needed from which national sections can work out the application to their country.

For the revolutionists of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes internationalism has never been an abstract solidarity or identification with the struggles in other parts of the world. It is fundamental to our general political perspectives and it is a real and concrete component of both our program and activities. For example, the document on the worldwide youth radicalization presented to the Fourth International is the basis of the intervention of the YS/LJS.

The YS/LJS was born in the defence of the Cuban revolution and the Black struggle through our understanding of their impact on the youth of Canada and Quebec. We, like Trotskyists around the world are the most consistent and active defenders of the Vietnamese revolution and we are the leadership of the organized antiwar movement in this country. We carried the international defence for Hugo Blanco, and for other political prisoners in Latin America, most recently those in Argentina. We can point proudly to the work done by our Ottawa comrades for Humberto Pagan. Just last year we carried campus tours on the Irish revolution and the struggle in Bengla Desh.

We have declared our solidarity with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Canadian section of the Fourth International, committing ourselves to building and defending it, and we have united with it in a common movement whose task is the building of the revolutionary party in Canada. As a revolutionary socialist youth organization we see our task as the winning of the best of our generation to the program of Trotskyism, to train them as cadres for the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Fourth International. As a sympathizing youth organization this is our concrete contribution to the building of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution.

Vietnam

At the center of the world revolution is the struggle in Vietnam. The Canadian Trotskyists, like their comrades around the world, have been the most consistent defenders of the heroic fighters of the Vietnamese who stand in the front lines of battle against imperialism.

Never before have our efforts in aid of Vietnam been so necessary. The corrupt bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking have raced each other to shake hands with Nixon and it is without doubt that their secret deals have struck

a blow at the Vietnamese revolution. There will be a cutback on the even meager aid which the Vietnamese now receive from them and we can expect increasing pressures on the Vietnamese to sacrifice their interests in a settlement. Far from creating any peaceful co-existence with imperialism, the diplomatic maneuvering and the lack of response to the mining of the harbours, has only served to embolden imperialism and as well to demobilize the antiwar movement, creating the conditions for the US's present monstrous air offensive across all Vietnam.

We have to continue our efforts to build the antiwar movement in Canada and to defend the Vietnamese. We have to expose the complicity of the Canadian government in US aggression.

As revolutionary internationalists, we have a responsibility not only to build a concrete defence of the Vietnamese, but in doing so to educate Canadian and Quebecois students as to why they must defend the struggles of the oppressed around the world and raise them beyond local and national concerns to point out the world system of capitalism and imperialism.

The work we have done to build the Canadian antiwar movement and to expose the real character of the Canadian state is one of our great achievements.

Defending the Vietnamese revolution remains our prime task this fall. Other reports to this plenum will elaborate further on our concrete plans for this work.

The Fourth International

The Fourth International has experienced a very inspiring growth. The French section, the Ligue Communiste numbers about 2500 members, the International Marxist Group of Britain about 300, the Argentine Revolutionary Workers Party (La Verdad) a sympathyzing group which recently fused with the Argentine Socialist Party, close to 1000, and the Canadian section, the LSA/LSO, about 300 members. The Socialist Workers Party, the US Trotskyist organization which is prohibited by reactionary legislation from affiliation to the Fourth International, has undergone an inspiring growth and development of its program to meet new challenges in the radicaliation. There are nuclei of new Trotskyist groups in Israel, Iran, Brazil, Martinique, Uruguay, Senegal. There is a nucleus of several hundred in Franco's fascist Spain. Since the last World Congress of the Fourth International twelve new groups have come forward to apply for membership in the International. In general there is a growing eclipse of the other currents in the workers movement -- pro-Moscow Stalinism among youth and vanguard layers, Maoism which has been exposed in the recent events around Ceylon, Bengla Desh and Vietnam; Nasserism; and there is a decline of Guevarism whose strategy has born no fruits in a decade of its application.

But an international movement cannot be built overnight by the simple task of winning more members and sections. It is a long and arduous political task made difficult by the diversity of situations and numerous forms of struggle confronting revolutionists around the globe.

There are many practical problems. Comrades should think of the distances that are involved in organizing congresses and meetings, the

problems posed by immigration authorities. Even some of our Canadian comrades were unable to cross the border and go to Oberlin. As the International grows so does the variety of languages its members speak and with that the massive job of translations. Many comrades are suffering under repression, either they are in jail and unable to participate directly in our political life or police harassment is such that their contact with Trotskyist publications is very irregular.

At the last World Congress, the Latin American comrades had not seen the documents in their own language, been able to discuss them or make contributions, while the biggest debate centered around Latin America. It is most important to note that t e majority of the members of the Fourth International were recruited since the world congress and a great many of them have never seen its documents or know little of the debates. Most of them are young people like ourselves who are relatively new to politics and just beginning their political education.

So the building of the world party is not an easy task and the Fourth International is just at the beginning stages of achieving the necessary political clarity and agreement, of constructing the necessary leadership and strong national sections.

There has been much discussion and not a little confusion on the character of the Fourth International and what its statutes represent. Many comrades tend to lift abstractly the norms of a national section to the International not taking into account the differences involved and above all the present stage of development of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International is a democratic centralist organization -- that is striving to achieve the fullest democratic discussion and the utmost in political clarity as the basis for unity in action. Democratic centralism is a fluid concept, subordinate above all to political debate and clarification, and it changes with the concrete situation. Comrades have seen this in our own organization which is involved in an intense debate over marked differences and where we have placed the emphasis on the development of the debate and discussion.

For the Fourth International at this time the emphasis must be on developing fully the political debate and discussion. A democratic centralist world party with a united leadership and strong integrated sections cannot be simply declared or decreed by fiat. It can only be built through the process of political clarity and debate, through discussion which has gone through theranks of the entire International and not just its leadership. One cannot establish a line correctly when comrades do not even see or discuss the documents before the congress or are unable to participate in the discussion as was the case for many at the last World Congress. Not only are the positions of this coming World Congress yet to be documented translated and distributed to the world movement -- they are still in the process of being formulated. There are only a handful of contributions from the Latin American comrades on the Latin American debate. That debate has essentially focussed around the positions of the European and North American leaders. The discussion only opened at the 1969 Congress on the youth radicalization. The task before the International is to develop fully the lines of the debate and to clarify the differences.

There are many groups in the Fourth International for whom the debates are something very new. There are widely divergent opinions on even the most basic questions like the transitional program, the character of Maoism, the strategy of party building. There is the Argentine section of the Fourth International, the PRT-Combatiente for which Trotskyism is only one of the legitimate continuations of Leninism; Maoism being hailed as another and Castroism as the correct synthesis of the two for Latin America. This is referred to on Page 8 of their document "The Only Road to Workers' Power and Socialism." There is the British section, the International Marxist Group, which elucidated at its last congress a series of positions which to us represented a revision of the method of the transitional program. The IMG majority wrote in its "Perspectives Document" for that congress that the method and perspectives of the SWP were reformist. I need not develop how far-reaching these differences are nor the pressing necessity that the Fourth International discuss and clarify them.

But these examples serve to point out the dangers of putting forward a very rigid plan for centralism in the International. To demand of the various groups of the Fourth International that they champion at this time a particular line or strategy would not serve to build the Fourth International but rather to blow it apart. Unity in action is not based on monolithic agreement but it is based on agreements on fundamentals and on the full understanding by the emtire International of the debates involved.

The development of a world party must also be based on the development of a strong international leadership, with an ongoing collaboration. We tend to think of the International leadership as just those well-known comrades. This is false. The leadership of the Fourth International is all the leaderships of all the sections, those comrades who have been tried and tested in the life of their sections and have the confidence of the section. Those of us in this room who see ourselves developing as leaders of the LSA/LSO are future leaders of the Fourth International. The leadership of the Fourth International is far from the homogeneous consolidated body necessary.

This underscores the final point. A strong International can only be based on the development of strong and dynamic national sections with tested leaderships. The basic building block of the international is the national section, where the cadres of the International are tested and trained. The construction of the world party will be a function of the development of the parties around the world and their political integration into a world movement.

As we can see it, the main task before the Fourth International and in particular its leadership bodies is: to provide political leadership, to strive for clarity in the debate, and to maintain the broad principles of Trotskyism. It must seek to involve all the ranks of the International in the discussion.

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency, in our movement, poses in its document "Theses on the Character and Statutes on the Fourth International' that the International is "not yet ready to change national leaderships or impose lines of intervention." It has been the experience of the revolutionary movement that this should never be done. The replacing of

national leaderships and tactical proscriptions from afar are disastrous reducing national parties to mere lifeless puppets. This was the experience of the Third International under Stalin. Comrades could imagine what would happen if the Central Office overruled the elections of locals and told comrades how they should intervene tactically in every struggle that came alone. There would be no development in the movement. Such measures, very rare and hazardous in national sections, are all the more excluded in an international movement where the common experience in struggle and the centralization of leadership cadre is so strictly limited.

Sallustro Kidnapping

The incident around the kidnapping of Sallustro points out clearly some of the main concepts about the character of the Fourth International. We fully developed this in the CEC statement on the Labor Challenge boycott by the United Minority Tendency (appended). We are not called upon, as a rule, to take a stand on the actions of the LSA, but as we were challenged to do so, we took a position.

It is important to remember two main things. First, that the incident involved a grave political error of a principled character. It was not just any action. And, secondly, the incident was widely publicized - in fact, publicized worldwide as a Trotskyist action. It is in light of these two things, and only these things, that the LSA published a statement differentiating itself from the actions of the comrades of the PRT (Combatiente).

The United Minority Tendency, now the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, made three points then and in its recent document.

1. That the statement in Labor Challenge was an attack on the Argentine comrades.

2. That the statement was a breach of democratic centralism, going against the line of the Ninth World Congress publicly.

3. That the actions of the Canadian section put into question its loyalty to the Fourth International.

The first point is simply false. The statement expressed solidarity to the Argentine revolutionists and places the full blame for the violence on the Lanusse regime. It makes a fraternal criticism of the tactics employed by these comrades.

On the second point. Does democratic centralism mean that no section can publicly disagree with any action or statement of any other section -- actions over which there is no means of democratic control? What nonsense! Moreover we have already explained in our statement that it is formal and rigid of the comrades to pose that somehow the LSA/LSO could have hidden the debate. It was already outside the movement, since the position of the LSA has been very clear on kidnapping because of a somewhat similar incident in Quebec involving the FLQ.

The LSA did not publicly oppose a world congress decision, but a decision of a section which in point of fact was unsupported by a world

congress decision. If the United Secretariat unfortunately refused to take a stand on the Sallustro kidnapping, the position of Trotskyism is clear and speaks volumes. The tactic of individual terror is condemned by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, indeed the entire experience and traditions of the Marxist movement.

On the third point. In our opinion the statement of the LSA Political Committee was proof of its loyalty to the Fourth International. Loyalty is not blind loyalty. It is taking the responsibility to see that the International has a correct orientation. It means that one does not adapt to mistakes which may occur but rather one has the obligation to make honest and fraternal criticism. This is no less than what the comrades in the situation would expect.

The tactic of individual terror has led to the needless death of many of our comrades in Latin America. In our opinion it was the majority leadership of the United Secretariat which did not act in the interests of the Fourth International by not criticizing the PRT-ERP's policy. In fact it gave silent assent by criticizing some of those who did raise a dissenting view (statement appended). Moreover, by endorsing individual terror it was the members of the United Secretariat and not the LSA Political Committee which went beyond the decisions of the World Congress.

Moreover the comrades of the tendency were not showing their loyalty to the Fourth International in boycotting Labor Challenge. Building the Fourth International is building the LSA/LSO. That is what the YS/LJS has committed itself to do.

What a shambles the Fourth International would be if individuals and tendencies in sections or sympathising organizations around the world refused to build their organizations because they were in sympathy with what some other section did or said. That is not Bolshevism. We do not say: "I want a piece of this section of the International and a piece of that section. I won't sell this issue, I'll sell another." We accept the Fourth International and the LSA/LSO as it is and commit ourselves to building them and working out questions as we go.

Similarly we reject any concepts held by currents in the left like the Old Mole, that they are Fourth Internationalists and Trotskyists, because they like one or two of its leading spokespersons. Building the Fourth International in Canada is building the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS.

What We Want to Adopt

At the last World Congress there were three main disputed questions:- the character of the leadership of the Chinese workers state; strategy for the Latin American revolution; and the nature of the youth radicalization.

As a youth organization and not being a section of the International, we are not called upon to take positions on all these questions. Rather we base our positions on those of the LSA/LSO Canadian section of the Fourth International with which we are in political solidarity. We do however follow the debate very closely, and I am sure all the comrades

here have read the documents.

But on two of these questions we are called upon to act.

The document on the world-wide youth radicalization which was set aside at the last World Congress for continued discussion has been endorsed by our movement and has formed the whole basis for our intervention. This question is crucial to our organization.

The debate over Latin America raises fundamental questions for Trotskyists. The positions have been documented and have been tested in life in the struggle in Latin America. Moreover it has become a question in our own movement as raised by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency.

So with this report the CEC is putting forward two positions for adoption by the plenum. First, we should re-affirm our support for the positions outlined in the document, the "World-wide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International". Secondly, we want to take a position on Latin America, specifically in opposition to the line of a continental strategy of rural guerrilla warfare.

The Youth Radicalization

As an independent youth organization, in sympathy with the Fourth International, the YS/LJS is involved in implementing one of the key orientations outlined at the last World Congress. There a motion was passed stating that the prime task before the Trotskyist movement was the winning to its ranks of the best of the new youth vanguard. The United Secretariat, which corresponds to our Central Executive Council in the structure of the world movement, had unanimously agreed on the document "The World-wide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International" and presented it to the delegates at the World Congress. Because of some criticisms raised by some of the French comrades and others the document was not voted on and the discussion was continued after the Congress. We supported and have endorsed that resolution.

The main points of that resolution are as follows.

There is a new generation of revolutionary fighters engaged in anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle. This youth radicalization has common features world-wide. It is rooted on the one hand in the world-wide crisis of imperialism and, on the other in the decline of Stalinism. As such the youth radicalization is not a passing phenomenon but a permanent feature of the revolutionary struggle today. Its prime arena is among students who have more time and freedom for political thought and activity. The massive university explosion which brought thousands into the universities has increased the potential impact of the student movement and deepened the ties of students to the problems facing the rest of their generation and to the struggles of the working class.

Experience has shown that the student movement can act as a detonator, or a transmission belt for radical ideas and action in the rest of society. A strategy is necessary to link student struggles to those

of other sectors of the society. The resolution outlined the Red University strategy which both transcends and includes student struggles and demands. The Red University could never be fully achieved under capitalism but the struggle for it serves to maximize the impact of the student movement on the overall class struggle. While understanding the social weight of students relative to the working class and other oppressed sectors of the society, revolutionary socialists must give our work in the student movement great weight as it is at present the best arena for recruitment. Finally the resolution outlined the necessity to build independent youth organizations.

This resolution has been confirmed in the last three years both by our own experience here in Canada and Quebec and by events around the world.

The action by a million students in the USA following the Cambodia-Kent events in May 1970 provoked a deep political crisis for the American ruling class. Students were the backbone of the Mukti Bahini in the struggle for the independence of Bengla Desh and the universities are presently the centers of opposition to the bourgeois regime of Mujibur Rahman. In Sri Lanka, the youth of the Janatha Vimukthi Poramuna won enough support in the countryside that the government declared a state of emergency and sent in the army to put down the uprising. In the Young Socialist there have been reports on struggles in Malagasy, South Africa and Argentina where students played the central role. Student struggles have occured in Tunisia, Philippines, the Caribbean and other areas.

Students in Egypt occupied the universities. They raised demands calling on Sadat to arm the people to fight Zionism and to support the Palestinian liberation fighters. They appealed to the unions for support, and, when the unions were about to join the students in action, the army moved in to put down the upsurge.

In France, the student struggles this March approached the level of those in '68 in campaigns against the government's education "reform" program. There were strikes for guaranteed jobs upon graduation.

England saw its broadest upsurge of students ever. Our comrades intervened actively in the struggles in defence of the student unions which swept one third of the universities. The student upsurge linked up with the miners strike as students organized mass support demonstrations, adding the workers' demands to their own. Students provided accomodation to the miners' flying squads and raised speakers' fees for miner representatives.

In fascist Spain, beginning in the medical colleges thousands of students boycotted classes.

In the workers' states, students have played an important role. In October 1970, there was a ten-day student strike in Belgrade. The universities in Czechoslovakia remain the centers of resistance.

The conditions fomenting the student revolt are not passing away but are deepening with each new crisis for the imperialists and for the

Stalinist bureaucrats. The rise of workers' struggles in the advanced capitalist countries has not killed the student movement or caused it to be by-passed. Rather, the struggles of the student movement have deepened. The emergence of the working class in action, while dominating the political scene, serves to inspire other layers of the population. This is the lesson of the British experience cited above.

Our experiences in Canada have been similar, and what we have learned is being discussed more fully in the Political report and in our political resolution. The actions by tens of thousands of students against Amchitka captured the attention of the entire country and drew sections of the labor movement into mass action. The struggles in Quebec against the extension of the school year began to make links with the May upsurge of the Quebecois workers. New student formations on a national and regional level are being formed. The universities were centers of protest against the War Measures Act.

The schools and universities remain a key area of intervention for revolutionary socialists and the most profitable one for recruitment at the present time. There are no sections of the Fourth International whose overwhelming majority of recruitment has not been from students.

We re-affirm our support to the document on the world-wide youth radicalization. We hope that our documents, discussion and experience can be useful in the coming debate prior to the World Congress of the Fourth International and to the day-to-day work of our comrades around the world.

Latin American Debate

At the last World Congress a resolution was adopted on Latin America. It asserted that: "the fundamental perspective, the only realistic perspective for Latin America is that of an armed struggle that may last for long years. This is why the technical preparation can not be seen merely as one of the aspects of revolutionary work, but as the fundamental aspect on a continental scale and one of the fundamental aspects in the countries where the minimum conditions have not yet been met." It stated that the principle axis of the work of the Trotskyist movement must be the technical preparation for and the engagement in rural guerrilla warfare. It stated that there have been great mass mobilizations of the Latin American masses but one "should not conclude from this that the classical variant of the progressive rise and broadening of the mass movement will occur." The repression in Latin America, it stated, was too great "and the adversary is in no wise ready to allow a mass revolutionary movement to organize more or less legally or normally." It further stated that "guerrilla warfare can stimulate a revolutionary dynamic" and what was needed was the "active sympathy, protection and solidarity of the masses".

The debate which this resolution opened has been the central debate in the world movement since the last World Congress. We see this debate as crucial because for us this guerrilla warfare line represents a serious drift away from the Trotskyist and Leninist strategy of party building, from the method of the transitional program and an adaptation to the Castroist and Guevarist currents in Latin America.

This debate is not only taking place in our movement but in the revolutionary vanguard around the world and most particularily in Latin America. It has been going on since the tremendous success of the Cuban revolution. The victory of Fidel Castro and the July 26 movement opened a whole new stage in the world revolution, and inspired a new generation of Latin American revolutionists. With the success of this heroic group ninety miles off the coast of the United States, a new debate opened among revolutionists on Guevarism, on the Cuban road to the revolution. For the July 26 movement, rural guerrilla warfare was its principle, and "Down With Batista" and secondarily land reform its only demands. Many saw this strategy as the path to the revolution.

The Trotskyist movement, which was the first to rush to the defence of the Cuban revolution, was also the first and only to put forward a correct analysis of the Cuban revolution and how and why it took place. We were not thrown back by the events, we did not see them as a refutation of our strategy of party building and mass mobilization, because we were able to analyse the particular and unique circumstances of that revolution.

The July 26 movement started out as a democratic movement with the single demand of Down with Batista, with, later and secondarily, land reform, which had overwhelming support of the country including of course the peasantry. The national bourgeoisie was split, (Che said "latifundistas were neutral") and some poured money into the movement. Che also wrote that "imperialism was suspicious at most" and the New York Times hailed the defeat of Batista and the victory of Castro. The army was demoralized due to the unpopularity of the regime. Castro was able to gain government control, and arm the masses while the ruling class was off guard, before beginning to move toward socialism.

This occurence cannot be repeated today as the tragic example of Che in Bolivia, of Santo Domingo, and the many rural guerrilla warfare experiments testify. Imperialism sees any democratic movement as a threat and has especially developed its technology and military to defeat it.

These were not the conclusions that the Cubans drew. Their conclusions, due to their lack of political experience, were essentially military ones -- that the military victory was the key, and that the countryside was the focus. Che's theory was that the revolution was ripe all over Latin America and that repression radicalizes the masses. The guerrilla group creates the conditions for that radicalization by provoking a social crisis and thus popular support would be immediately forthcoming. This conception has led to countless tragic defeats in Latin America. Che's fundamental error was in failing to see that while the socio-economic conditions were ripe, the political ones were not. He reduced the complex <u>political</u> process of the class struggle -- leading the day-to-day struggles of the masses, raising their consciousness, winning their confidence, breaking the hold of the reformists over the mass workers organizations, defeating other tendencies etc., etc. -- to a simple <u>tactic</u> of armed struggle. But above all the Cubans did not understand the necessity of building a vanguard party, rooted in the masses and capable of leading them.

There have been no fruits of the Guevarist strategy. Many of the heroic proponents of the rural guerrilla warfare strategy are rethinking their positions -- for example, the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria). Hugo Blanco has pointed out that there is a broad debate taking place in the whole Latin American vanguard, a whole generation looking for answers and trying to draw a balance sheet.

We, the Trotskyists, with our understanding of the Leninist theory of party-building, the Transitional Program, the importance of the urban proletariat, the Cuban events, are the only ones able to provide those answers. Our intervention in this debate is crucial.

But when we examine closely the continental strategy of rural guerrilla warfare as was posed at the last World Congress and is now put forward by some in the International including the Revolutionary Communist Tendency within our movement, we see that what it comes down to in life is not substantially different from the guerrillista strategy. It holds that because the repression is so fierce the task of mobilizing the masses and building the party must be set aside and rural guerrilla warfare launched. What the party does is simply recruit the minimum number of militants and provide liason and direction for the guerrilla groups. The tactic of guerrilla warfare becomes a strategy and the party is only presented as an adjunct of that. The "fundamental aspect" of revolutionary work is not mobilizing the masses and constructing the party, the heightening and deepening of the class struggle out of which at a certain stage the armed struggle will flow. No, the fundamental aspect of revolutionary work becomes the engagement in guerrilla warfare by vanguard elements in the hope that out of this the masses will be mobilized and the party built. The continental strategy of rural guerrilla warfare is a shortcut, placing tactics and technique above political program.

We characterize this epoch as an epoch of war and revolution, whose chief characteristic is that while the objective conditions exist for revolution there is not an organized vanguard which can lead the revolution. The whole strategy of the Leninist movement hinges around the building of parties along the lines of the Bolshevik model. The Leninist party is based on a political program, a program of class struggle. It recruits and trains vanguard elements. It fights with and mobilizes all layers of the society at all levels from the petition to the gun. It never substitutes for the masses. It has an international perspective.

The transitional program outlines a method by which, through patient and consistent organizational, agitational and propagandistic work we can mobilize the masses, raise their consciousness and recruit the best elements. We hold that there is no substitute, no shortcut for the building of the party. The party must be rooted in all the struggles of the oppressed, building their struggles where they are at. It can't be a small group far out in left field having simply the "solidarity" or "protection" of the masses. The emancipation of the proletariat will be by the proletariat itself.

What does the Trotskyist movement have to say about armed struggle? We know that armed struggle is necessary for the proletariat to be victorious, that the ruling class will not hand over the state peacefully. But the form of the armed struggle, its use, the assessment of the stage when it should be launched are tactical questions to be determined by the vanguard, based on the level of mobilization of the masses and their consciousness. To make rural guerrilla warfare a continental strategy for all times and places goes against the experiences of Leninism and Trotskyism. For us the overall strategy is party building.

Here is what Trotsky had to say in the Transitional Program:

"Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of workers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory -- and ends in the street... Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.

"Only with the help of such systematic, persistent, indefatigable, courageous, agitational and organizational work, always on the basis of the experience of the masses themselves, is it possible to root out from their consciousness the traditions of submissiveness and passivity; to train detachments of heroic fighters capable of setting an example to all toilers; to inflict a series of tactical defeats upon the armed thugs of counter-revolution; to raise the self-confidence of the exploited and the oppressed; to compromise fascism in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie and pave the road for the conquest of power by the proletariat.

"Engels defined the state as bodies of "armed men". The arming of the proletariat is an imperative concomitant element to its struggle for liberation. When the proletariat wills it, it will find the road and means to arming. In this field also the leadership falls naturally to the sections of the Fourth International". (emphasis added)

In other words armed struggle, its use and forms are tactical questions to be decided by the party. It flows out of the mobilization of the masses themselves and their present consciousness and consists of the arming of the masses themselves. "The workers militias are the point of departure".

Here is what Hugo Blanco wrote concerning his experience with guerrilla warfare in Peru:

"The members of my guerrilla force (except an artificial element) were taken from the best in the union vanguard; it is sufficient to mention the organizational and economic secretaries of the Federacion Provincial de Campesinos and general secretaries of four unions.

People who had been looked down on for occupying themselves with demanding "crumbs" while the "genuine revolutionaries" argued over how to take power. This happened and will happen again; here and elsewhere. Today we are fighting for higher wages and against unemployment, with our old Transitional Program in hand. The audacious guerrillistas call us cowards, they tell us that we don't want to make the revolution or that we are thinking of doing it in the year 2,000. We know that we will again take up arms in the city and in the countryside; we did it before they did, with the forces that emerged from our people, not artificially "a suero". With this in mind we are working patiently today in organizing the peasantry and in advancing the workers' wage demands. We have confidence in Comrade Trotsky because Chaupimayo showed us that he was right." (Letter to Joseph Hansen January 1970...page 55
(emphasis added)

What does the Trotskyist movement have to say about guerrilla warfare. It has been stated many times that Lenin advocated guerrilla warfare in 1906. But, as Joseph Hansen points out, the balance sheet of this experience was not drawn until 1940 by Trotsky when he wrote about it in his biography of Stalin. With the beginning of the reaction following the events of 1905, Lenin advocated guerrilla activities including "expropriations" (robbing banks) and as well a boycott of the Duma. Trotsky points out that these actions were based on an incorrect assessment of the situation and as a result were extremely destructive. The guerrilla actions were not episodes in between lulls in the civil war but isolated actions separated from the mass movement that was in decline.

"Finally, 'guerrilla warfare is an inescapable form of struggle... whenever more or less extensive intervals occur between major engagements in a civil war.' (From a resolution by Lenin). From the point of view of the general principles of the class struggle, all of that was quite irrefutable. Disagreements came with the evaluation of concrete historical circumstances. When two major battles of the civil war are separated from each other by two or three months, that interval will inevitably be filled in with guerrilla blows against the enemy. But when the 'intermission' is stretched out over years, guerrilla war ceases to be a preparation for a new battle and becomes instead a mere convulsion after defeat. It is of course not easy to determine the moment of the break...

"It was self evident that guerrilla activities had become sheer anarchism when it was necessary to utilize even the arena of Tsarist 'parliamentarism' in order to prepare the ground for the mobilization of the masses. At the crest of the civil war guerrilla activities augmented and stimulated the mass movement; in the period of reaction they attempted to replace it, but, as a matter of fact, merely embarassed the Party and speeded its disintegration. Oliminsky, one of the more noticeable of Lenin's companions-in-arms shed critical light on that period from the perspective of Soviet times. "Not a few of the fine youth," he wrote, "perished on the gibbet; others degenerated; still others were disappointed in the revolution. At the same time people at large began to confound revolutionists with ordinary bandits. Later, when the revival of the revolutionary labor movement began, that revival was slowest in those cities where "exes" (expropriation) had been most numerous."
(Taken from In Defence of the Leninist Strategy of Party Building -- J. Hansen)

The point about the boycott of the Duma is very interesting. Many guerrilla groups who had previously boycotted elections in Latin America are now seeing the necessity to participate in them. For example, the PRT-El Combatiente in Argentina.

Some Myths and Misconceptions about Latin America

I want to discuss next some myths that exist about Latin America and the subsequent misconceptions that flow from them.

The first one concerns the myth about repression -- that the repression is so fierce that it is impossible for the mass movement to develop and for revolutionists to progress in building the party. We do not underestimate the terror unleashed by the state against its enemies nor are we unmindful of the number of fighters who have been tortured, imprisoned or killed. But it is important also to not underestimate the possibilities for revolutionary work.

I would like to take up two statements. The first is from the 1969 World Congress resolution: "The adversary is in no wise ready to allow a mass revolutionary movement to organize more or less legally". The second one is contained in the contribution by Germain and Knoeller. It re-appeared in a slightly different form in our Belgian weekly edited by Ernest Mandel:

"In the countries where the workers' movement has won its fundamental democratic rights, where it can blossom out freely, the application of the methods of guerrilla warfare is false and ineffective...

"The situation is quite different in the countries where the democratic rights of the workers movement have been suppressed or severely limited, where an open fascist or military dictatorship rules, where assassination, torture, concentration camps become the daily form of government of the capitalists".

The ruling class is in "no wise ready" ever to allow the mass movement to blossom freely, as War Measures and Kent State point out. The ruling class uses every method it can to break the mass movement, to attack it, from the Minneapolis general strike, to the SFU 114, to the Russian revolution.

The logic of the La Gauche article is to set up a formal schema -- to divide the world into two parts -- those where the mass movement is supposed to be able to blossom freely and those where it can't. Can't we break it down into three areas, or four? There is a more dangerous logic to it -- that is, that this analysis cannot be just applied to Latin America. Shouldn't revolutionists engage in guerrilla war in the Soviet Union, Greece, and Spain? Was Trotsky wrong in not launching guerrilla warfare in the Soviet Union in the thirties?

Thirdly it is a dangerous and defeatist position. It says that nothing can be done. All the mass mobilizations led by Hugo Blanco or in Cordoba have been demoralizing defeats. In reality while we do not minimize the tragic loss of life the mass mobilizations in Santo Domingo cost imperialism much more politically than the crushing of a handful of guerrillas in the mountains.

We know that repression is a function of the relationship of class forces and that it varies and oscillates between repression and concession. The effect of repression is determined by the degree of mobilization of the masses and can be neutralized by the power of the mass movement. The ruling class cannot crush powerful mass movements without provoking a deep crisis and confrontation of classes. The crushing of mass movements by repression or coups poses even more sharply the necessity of revolutionary leadership and mobilizations of all sections of the oppressed against the enemy. There is no alternative, especially the isolated actions of guerrilla bands.

Times of repression are most particularily the times when revolutionaries must stick close to the masses and never give up their orientation to mobilize them to defeat the state and take power. If this cannot be done there can be no revolution. Czarism was more repressive than the regimes in most Latin American countries today and the Bolsheviks worked in exile, underground and through whatever legal channels they could to build the party and organize the masses.

There have been many changes in the governments in Latin America and while the drift has been toward dictatorial regimes there have been a number of reformist ones as well.

What is the real situation in Latin America? Comrades who have been following the press of the world movement know that there have been many mass mobilizations in Argentina. In the trade unions in Argentina there exist factory committees in which all tendencies on the left participate. The PRT-Combatiente says that there are openings for legal mass work that must be utilized. This holds true for Uraguay as well. There are more democratic rights in Chile than in some countries in Europe. The peasant unions formed by Hugo Blanco still exist in Peru and there was an anti-war demonstration of 30,000 in Lima. There have been land seizures by the peasants in Colombia and in Venezuela every organ of the left is legal. Under fascist-like conditions in Brazil tens of thousands of workers operate in underground unions.

Another myth about Latin America is that it is in a perpetual state of civil war. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency places its analysis in the context of "a long civil war unfolding on a continental scale" (Thesis 1A, Latin America). This is completely false. A civil war is a civil war, that is the masses are armed and engaged in combat. The most obvious example is Vietnam.

Finally, the greatest misconception concerns guerrilla groups in Latin America. The myth is that all over Latin America all the time there are mass guerrilla organizations fighting in the mountains and operating in the cities. The real picture is different and somewhat tragic.

Many of the guerrilla groups have been smashed, many are in exile. No guerrillista current in Latin America has any left wing in any union anywhere. Neither the PRT-Combatiente nor the ERP are mass organizations. The comrades of the PRT-Combatiente say that they have only sympathy among the workers but no organic links.

Argentina and Bolivia

In order to develop the points I have raised above I want to go over the experiences of our comrades in two countries -- Argentina and Bolivia -- where opposing lines have been tested in the real life of the class struggle.

In Argentina there are two Trotskyist groups. One is the PRT-La Verdad which is a sympathizing organization and which opposes the line adopted at the last World Congress. The other is the official section the PRT-El Combatiente which holds to the perspective of a strategy of rural guerrilla warfare.

First the La Verdad group. These comrades are active in the factory committees, in the student movement, and the developing women's liberation movement. They were leaders of large strikes in Citroen, Petrol, bank-workers, Fiat and Chrysler. They are the leaders of the factory committees in auto, metal, teaching, banking, meat and telephones. They were in the leadership of the struggle in Cordoba. They have a thousand members and are the third largest Trotskyist organization of the world. They published an illegal weekly paper with a circulation of several thousand. All this was achieved while they were underground and while the PRT-Combatiente claimed that no mass work could be done.

They have now achieved legality through a unity with the Socialist Party -- they wrote the program, they are six to one of the membership, and six out of eight on the editorial board of Avanzada Socialista which has a circulation of 10,000. They took advantage of the bourgeois electoral laws which provide many facilities, signing up 30,000 members, thus getting a dollar per member from the government and free election material. They are running a socialist alternative pole against the bourgeois coalition, the GAN.

These comrades face repression. They couldn't legally sell the paper although they did it. But they are protected by their connection and work in the mass movement and they do not leave themselves open.

On the other hand, we have the example of the PRT-El Combatiente, the official section of the Fourth International which adheres to the strategy of guerrilla warfare. The exact size of this organization is unknown but it does not approach in size the Verdad group. Many of these courageous comrades are in jail. Some have been killed. The PRT-Combatiente was involved in the kidnapping of the capitalist boss Sylvester and in the killing of Oberdan Sallustro. By its own statements, as I mentioned earlier, it can claim only sympathy among the working class but has no real links to the mass organization having no cells in the factory committees. As evidenced by some recent statements published in The Militant, it has now come to see the opportunities for open mass work particularily as presented by the upcoming elections.

This brings me to the next point. Why it is impossible to have autonomous armed detachments which are part of the mass movement. The major point involved here is what was discussed in the transitional program -- the arming of the masses and the defence of the masses must flow from the mass of workers themselves and from their organizations. A small vanguard cannot declare itself the guardian of the workers.

Secondly, it is simply impossible to be a guerrilla and to implant yourself in the mass movement at the same time. You are defenceless and so is any one who associates with you. Trotsky wrote how those engaged in such actions must of necessity be so "hermetically sealed" that all contact with the masses is impossible.

Bolivia

It is in Bolivia that the disastrous effects of the line of a continental strategy of guerrilla warfare have been most clearly pointed out. This incorrect line which places the tactic of guerrilla warfare above the transitional program and party-building, blinded comrades to the possibilities that existed for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses and the construction of a vanguard party necessary for the seizure of power.

All comrades should read and study the important contribution on Bolivia by the Argentine comrade Anabel Lorenzo.

A great defeat was suffered in Bolivia. The army moved in against the workers, killing many and the air force bombers strafed the universities But the defeat stands out because of the tremendous possibilities which existed in Bolivia. Comrades will remember Livio Maitan's contribution "An Insufficient Document" to the last world congress which stated that the Fourth International would make a great "breakthrough" in Bolivia, that "the Fourth International would be built around Bolivia". But the majority of the congress looked for a shortcut to the revolution, adopted the guerrilla warfare line and in the ensuing events the revolution and the section were smashed.

Everything that was not supposed to happen in Latin America because of the repression, etc. -- happened. And it happened along the "classical" lines of the Bolshevik revolution. There was a split in the army, and like Kerensky, Torres rose to power on the crest of a mass mobilization of the workers. Workers' assemblies were established and an embryonic situation of dual power existed. This situation existed for two years with left groups able to participate openly in the assemblies.

The main difference between Bolivia of 1970 and the situation preceding the Russian revolution was that there existed no vanguard party capable of leading the workers to power.

The Bolivian Trotskyists were implementing the line of the world congress and were blinded by the guerrilla warfare strategy. They failed to use the opportunities that existed for legal work for moving into the leadership of the mass struggles, putting forward a program and a strategy that could develop the struggle for the arming of the masses.

A right wing coup took place followed by a terrific repression.

Those who hold to the line of a continental strategy of guerrilla warfare must face these facts.

This line represents an adaptation to the Guevarist strategy. It is a vain and disastrous search for a shortcut to the essential task of the

construction of a revolutionary vanguard party. The RCT writes in its document "The LSA attacks on the Argentine section."

"It is not the task --contrary to what the PC statement says -- to build the revolutionary party; rather the central axis of our strategic orientation in Latin America is the armed struggle, and it is around this central axis that our mass work and the construction of the party proceeds." (page 4)

It is an abandonment of the Transitional Program.

Joe Hansen writes on this theme in his "Assessment of the Draft Resolution on Latin America". I would like to read an extensive but very important and revealing quote.

"Once it has been decided that 'the principle axis for a whole period will be rural guerrilla warfare the term having primarily a geographical-military meaning' the question of transitional steps is narrowed to the extreme, becoming reduced even in the area of armed struggle. Even worse the central concept of the Transitional Program drafted by Trotsky on the utilization of transitional slogans and transitional measures (including the field of armed struggle) to mobilize the masses and construct a combat party, is hard to fit in with this 'principal axis' if it can be fitted in at all.

"The reasons for this are not difficult to discern. Trotsky's Transitional Program conceives the socialist revolution carried forward by mass mobilizations in the process of which a competent revolutionary leadership organized in a combat party is forged. The concept of rural guerrilla war as the principal axis for a long period, projects a small heroic elite carrying the battle in the absence of the masses and in areas remote from the cities. Thus if the concept of rural guerrilla warfare for a prolonged period is adopted as the principle axis of revolutionary work, then the problem of mobilizing the urban masses becomes somewhat irrelevant, and along with it most of the Taansitional Program." (page 25, LA Compilation)

The guerrilla warfare strategy reduces to a single tactic the complicated and necessary tasks of mobilizing the masses, raising their level of consciousness, defeating the reformistsin the workers movement, preparing the masses for the armed struggle and, above all, the patient propagandistic and agitational organizational and political work necessary for the construction of a Leninist party.

This line has meant many missed opportunities and many defeats. It has meant the miseducation of substantial forces within and without the Fourth International.

But the degree of disorientation caused by this line was never more clearly shown than in the events surrounding the Sallustro kidnapping. If one is going to support the military actions of a small elite then the logic is to support individual terror.

In the traditions of the Marxist movement which has had a long-standing position of opposition to individual acts of terror, we opposed the

kidnapping of Sallustro by the PRT-Combatiente.

Contrary to what was said at the time by the RCT, the kidnapping was not an action closely linked to or flowing out of the mass movement, it was merely coincidental to the mass mobilization occuring at the time. It gave the ruling class a good opportunity to attack the mass movement. It was the isolated action of a small group taken against an individual capitalist in the name of the masses. The possible sympathy of sectors of the masses for an action and the mobilization of the workers themselves are two entirely different things.

There was no civil war going on, in the context of which such an action could be a spur to the masses. It was a spectacle for the masses.

There is much to be learned from the events following the first kidnapping by the PRT-ERP, the one involving Fiat boss Sylvester. The revolutionaries won their demands for wage increases and better conditions in the factory and Sylvester was released. A month later elections were held in the factory committee and the left wing lost and the right was elected. And of course conditions soon worsened. The kidnapping had taught the workers nothing. It had not helped to break their reformist illusions nor taught them how to struggle, or even that they should struggle. To go off and organize elite actions is to abandon the mass organizations of workers to the reformists.

I have already mentioned the problem posed to the world movement by the Sallustro kidnapping. The action represented a departure from the principles and traditions of the Fourth International. Moreover the action was widely publicised and identified as a Trotskyist action. The world movement was called upon to respond -- to state its agreement or disagreement with the tactic employed by the Argentine comrades. It is in this light the Political Committee issued its statement and that we endorsed it when called upon to do so. When we did so we anticipated that the United Secretariat would also make a public statement as they had done a few months earlier in criticizing the Bolivian comrades signature of the FRA statement endorsing a popular front.

We find it very unfortunate that they did not. The majority leadership of the Fourth International abdicated their responsibility as a leadership to defend the principles of the Fourth International and educate the comrades involved. By criticising those sections which in a fraternal way dissociated themselves and by giving silent approval to the action, the majority leadership foisted a new line on the International.

Sometime later two articles appeared in the press of the world movement -- both have been reprinted and are available in your plenum kits (appended). One is a center spread unsigned article in La Gauche, the Belgian weekly edited by Ernest Mandel. The other is an article by Danial Bensaid, a leading member of the Ligue Communiste in the French section paper Rouge. They both point out the danger of accepting terrorist actions because the authors are forced to develop incorrect theories in order to justify them. They try to integrate individual terrorism into Leninism.

The dangers posed in these articles point out clearly the correctness of the LSA/LSO's action in taking a principled stand against the Sallustro kidnapping.

Summary

Because we are committed to building the Fourth International and its reality in Canada today, the LSA/LSO, these debates are extremely important to us. As well, the questions being raised are crucial to our own work and the discussions are a great education for us. Similar questions are also being raised in our own organization. So, we want to follow the debate very closely.

The CEC has asked the Political Committee of the LSA/LSO to release to us the Political Resolution of the International Marxist Group, the statement of the United Secretariat concerning the statements of the LSA/LSO and the Socialist Workers Party on the Sallustro kidnapping, and the Fact-Finding Commission into the British Section. These documents are already in the hands of some of our comrades and as such we would like them to be released to our entire organization.

In adopting this report comrades are voting on four main points:

1. To re-affirm our unconditional support for and our committment to build the LSA/LSO, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

2. To underwrite the CEC's endorsation of the statement of the LSA/LSO Political Committee on the Sallustro kidnapping.

3. To re-afirm our support to the document "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International".

4. To take a position against the line of a continental strategy of rural guerrilla warefare, in Latin America.

We want all the comrades to read the international bulletins and to discuss this report in the locals. In educating ourselves and orienting our own intervention in the process we are making a valuable contribution to the building of the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION RESOLUTION

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972 Vol. 8 No. 10

Submitted by the Central Executive Council (CEC)

Introduction

The present explosion of feminist consciousness is the most profound in the history of capitalist society. In the short time since its emergence, the women's liberation movement has had a considerable impact on mass consciousness and has continued to reach and affect the lives of growing numbers of women. This second wave of feminism, building on the victories of the courageous women of the turn of the century, has the potential to unite half the population in struggle against the capitalist state, and for the complete liberation of the female sex.

Women are coming to political consciousness about their oppression during the most intense period of social convulsion in world history. Like other layers of the oppressed and exploited - students, the Quebecois. Native people, Blacks, and the colonial peoples throughout the world - women have learned that they too thirst for free and fully human lives. And, like these other layers, women are putting the blame for their oppression and degradation which they face in their daily lives where it belongs - on the institutions of society. The feminist movement is asserting that women's subordinate role in society flows not from any 'biological inferiority' of women, but rather from a society which is organized to systematically exclude women from playing a central, productive role. Women are demanding that this institutionalized exclusion and oppression in all its forms be ended.

The feminist movement poses a profound challenge to the maintenance of class rule, for its demands cannot be met within the confines of the capitalist system. Just as it took the rise of class society to displace women from their central role in primitive society, it will take a socialist revolution which eliminates class society for the full liberation of women to be achieved.

The capitalist class is acutely aware of the threat which the women's liberation movement poses to the private property system. This is true not only because of the revolutionary dynamics of the feminist struggle itself, but also because this movement has emerged in a period of general radicalization and the rise of world revolution. In the face of this threat, the ruling class has rushed to make concessions - the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1968, a special Women's Bureau in the Department of Labour, women's studies courses in the universities and so on. These steps are examples of attempts by the capitalist class to convince women that their needs can be met within the framework of capitalism. But for the ruling class the problem will only become deeper because capitalism is incapable of meeting the needs of women. Women today have to organize in massive numbers to win the elementary right to control their own bodies - as they are beginning to do with the struggle to repeal all anti-abortion laws.

At the core of the anti-capitalist threat which the feminist movement poses, is its challenge to the patriarchal family. By challenging the role of domestic slave and childrearer which is forced upon women by class society, women are challenging the central mechanism which is used to reinforce and perpetuate that role, the family. It is through the family that the capitalist class foists upon individuals, rather than society as a whole, the responsibility for providing *f*ood, shelter, the means for an education, and the overall care for children, the sick and the old. The authoritarian nature of the family parallels the authoritarian nature of class society as a whole, and this institution plays a crucial role in inculcating the necessary norms, and carrying out the violent socialization process needed to prepare children for their future alienated labor and existence under capitalist society.

Just as the family is essential to the maintenance of class rule, so too is it essential to the subordination of women as a sex. Because capitalist society cannot provide alternative institutions such as communal kitchens, childcare and the means of economic independence for women, it cannot give women control over their lives or a real alternative to domestic slavery

Roots of Women's Rebellion

Like all other radicalizing sectors women are being propelled into motion at this time by the deepening contradictions of capitalism. Women are confronted with a society that is very wealthy and that has a highly developed technology. Yet this society is unwilling and unable to use its wealth and technology to free women from the onerous tasks of domestic labor and give women control of their lives. Despite medical and technological advances which could provide safe, effective birth control and safe abortions, the necessary research is not done and women continue to be denied control over their bodies by repressive laws prohibiting access to abortion.

These contradictions have been made all the more acute in the past decade by the rapid increase of women in the labor force. In the period from 1960 to 1970 in Canada, the number of working women increased by 62.3 per cent to over two and one half million. As well the number of married women increased to 56.7 per cent of the female labor force, compared to 45 per cent a decade ago. In 1960, 19 per cent of all single women aged 25 to 34 were working compared to 85 per cent in 1970 (Women's bureau, Department of Labour.) These trends are continuing to sharpen.

The increased participation of women in the labor force has enabled women to gain a certain measure of economic independence from individual men and they have seen some alternatives to domestic slavery. This in turn has created a crisis in the family. There now exists a growing contradiction between the **ideal** of the "breadwinning" male and the "housekeeping-female on the one hand, and on the other hand the **reality** of women working outside the home, playing somewhat more expanded roles.

The rapid expansion of women in the work force has been accompanied by a tremendous increase in the number of women in post-secondary educational institutions. While both these factors have freed women to some extent from the confines of the patriarchal family, women have not achieved a corresponding rise in status in the labor force or in society as a whole. Women still work at the most boring, menial, low-paying jobs and are being concentrated more and more in particular job categories.

The sharpening of the contradictions facing women is occurring at a time of deepening radicalization and amid the rise of the world revolution, especially in the colonial countries. All the struggles that have emerged in this period have had an effect on one another - they have given impetus to each other and given one another important lessons. The feminist movement has not been absent from this process. It has received inspiration and learned lessons from the Black movement, the antiwar movement and student movement, in particular.

Feminism and the Youth Revolt

For young women, the contradictions of modern capitalism are posed even more sharply. As youth they have lived most of their lives amid the rise of world revolution - Cuba, Vietnam, May-June 1968 in France, the Black nationalist movement, the student movement and the Quebec independentist struggle. They are growing up during a period of world-wide radicalization among youth; a period of questioning of a myriad of institutions, authority and backward prejudices.

Not only do youth have higher expectations but it is young women, most of all, whose expectations have been raised by the accelerated growth of education and the labor force of the past decade. In 1921 in Canada women comprised 16.3 per cent of the total enrollment in

undergraduate programs. By 1968 that figure had risen to 34.2 per cent. The overall enrollment of women in that period quadrupled, while the enrollment of men doubled (Royal Commission on the Status of Women). From 1960 to 1970, in line with the general expansion of post-secondary education, the overall university enrollment of women increased by 273 per cent while for men it increased by 128 per cent. This has increased their aspirations, given them a greater degree of independence and the opportunity to learn and think about the society. As young women, who are still in the process of being socialized to fulfill the roles of women and who are not yet trapped in the nuclear family as wives and mothers, they are most acutely aware of the contradiction between the continued degradation and oppression of women and the possibility for liberation.

In addition, in the schools and universities, student women face a particularly blatant contradiction. While, on the one hand, the educational institutions hold out a promise of greater freedom to women, these same institutions are tools for the oppression of women. Although the schools and campuses have been forced, by the economic demands of capitalism, to train more women for the labor market, they have still not in any way changed their function as institutions which prepare women to take on their roles as defined by society. Women are still streamed into "traditional women's fields; or diverted from university entirely through high school secretarial courses, nursing programs and teachers' schools.

As well, these same institutions embody the oppressive nature of capitalist society. Far from being an "ivory tower" for women, they are sexist to the core. Women teachers face discriminatory hiring policies; women students face sexist teachers and professors, repressive residence regulations and courses that ignore or distort the role of women in history, literature, etc. Most insidious is the oppression of high school women who are offered no information on birth control, no birth control devices, yet are expelled if they get pregnant.

For these reasons it has been young women, especially students, who given impetus and leadership to the feminist movement.

Starting with the protest against the Miss University Beauty Contest at Waterloo in 1970, through the Abortion Caravan the same year and right up to the most recent actions of the abortion law repeal campaign, student women have played a vanguard role in the campaigns of the feminist movement. Student women have also waged many struggles on their campuses and high schools - struggles such as the University of Toronto day care occupation, fights for equal faculty representation of women professors, for the opening of long-time male preserves such as Hart House at U. of T. and against residence restrictions such as those at Saint Francis Xavier in Antigonish. In the high schools women have fought for the right to wear jeans, to hold assemblies on birth control and abortion, to take industrial arts instead of home economics and a young women in Barrie even fought to be on an all-boy hockey team.

Action Strategy for Women's Liberation

Since the emergence of the organized women's liberation movement in 1969, the ideas of feminism have reached thousands of women. The initial response by women gives a hint of the potential which this movement holds to be come a political force capable of making a profound impact on society. While the feminist movement has yet to involve masses of women in struggle, large numbers of women identify with its goals, and thousands more identify with at least some of its demands.

Feminism has had a considerable impact on Canadian politics in general, cropping up on newspapers, magazines, as a topic of discussion, in offices, factories, classrooms and even the churches. The New Democratic Party 's adoption of a relatively full program on women's rights is but one indication of the effect of this young movement.

The mass action strategy for women's liberation which the YS/LJS adopted at the last

convention is designed to bridge the gap between the sympathy which growing numbers of women have for the aims of the feminist movement, and the potential which this movement holds once welded into a powerful, organized movement of masses of women struggling against their oppression.

Our mass action strategy is based on an analysis of the nature of women's oppression and the understanding that a socialist revolution which abolishes capitalism is necessary to free women from oppression. No amount of bandaging or reforming of capitalism can free women from the basic aspects of their oppression. Only the planned economy of a socialist society can establish the material basis for the elimination of the economic and social compulsion of the patriarchal family which is the foundation of women's oppression.

Our strategy is also based on an understanding of the independent dynamics, roots and demands of the women's liberation movement. Although women from different classes, nationalities, ages, and so on suffer different forms and degrees of oppression, they nevertheless all suffer to varying degrees from the lack of childcare facilities, from inadequate birth control and repressive abortion laws, from psychological conditioning and economic dependence on individual men. In other words, they face a common thread of oppression simply because of their sex. As long as women face this common oppression as a sex there will be a basis for the independent organization and mobilization of women in struggle against that oppression.

Central to our mass action strategy is an understanding of the revolutionary dynamics of the feminist struggle. Since capitalism cannot meet the needs of women for full liberation, a program which mobilizes women in struggle around concrete issues which relate to their needs leads in an anti-capitalist direction. Struggles for such things as the right to abortion, childcare, equal pay, equal access to jobs and education are, of necessity directed against the government and the institutions which oppress women. It is through such struggles that masses of women begin to understand the source of their oppression and the need for a socialist revolution. These struggles by women -- as with the Quebec independentist movement, the student movement, and so on -- as Lenin once said, will train masses of people in the spirit of the struggle for socialism.

Central to our approach to the construction of a mass feminist movement is the concept of independent political action. By struggling around democratic and transitional demands, masses of women can learn the vital lesson that they cannot rely on the institutions of capitalism - the government, the courts, capitalist parties and politicians - to serve as agents for their liberation. That is, they will learn that they must rely on their **own** united power, and seek allies amongst other layers of the oppressed and exploited. Women will see the unwillingness or inability of capitalism to meet such easily understandable demands as the right to abortion and childcare. And they will see constant attempts by the ruling class to take back what initial gains they have made.

In striving to win the women's liberation movement to a mass action perspective, we are attempting to build this movement into a force which can unite as many women as possible given the present objective conditions and the level of consciousness of the masses of women. We can anticipate a continued deepening of the contradictions which women face, as capitalism sinks further in its death agony. With the deepening of these contradictions greater numbers of women will be propelled into action and greater opportunities will present themselves. The lessons which the united front-type struggle around abortion is presently teaching women, and the involvement of the YS/LJS in this and other struggles, will be crucial to the political development of this movement. The experiences which are being assimilated now will play an important role in how well the YS/LJS and the feminist movement respond to future developments.

The Role of the Abortion Campaign

The document 'Women's Liberation and the Struggle for Socialism,' adopted at the1970 convention of the YS/LJS, noted the emergence of the abortion campaign as a struggle of central importance to the development of the feminist movement. Our experiences since then have further confirmed this analysis and deepened our understanding of the potential role which this issue can play in building a mass movement for women's liberation, and the role which it is today playing.

From its beginnings the feminist movement has raised three main issues of concern to women; the right to safe, legal abortions; the demand for free twenty-four hour childcare available to all; and the right of women to economic independence, including equal job and educational opportunities and equal pay. All of these issues relate to fundamental aspects of women's oppression because it is the denial of women's control over their own bodies; women's economic dependence on individual men, and the major responsibility which women have for child-rearing that constitute the main interlocking factors that prop up the patriarchal family and trap women in their subordinate role.

But it is around the issue of abortion that women have been mobilized in the largest numbers - both in this country and on an international scale. Women in the United States, Italy, France, Britain, New Zealand. Australia and Germany have begun to fight against restrictions of abortion.

Long before we participated in the abortion campaign, and before the organized feminist movement began, a number of varied groups existed which were attempting to change the situation with abortion. Some of these groups supported liberalization, or a loosening up of the existing laws, while others, even at that time, favored complete repeal. The Association for the Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws (ARCAL) and Get Our Abortions Liberalized (GOAL), as well as committees established by the Humanist Society, are examples of such groups. As well, we saw that abortion counseling and referral was one of the first ongoing activities of the initial women's liberation groups.

The mass sentiment for making abortions available to women can be seen from the polls that have been taken (Gallup, Chatelaine, Liberal Party Polls); in the referenda held on campuses last spring; and by the number and variety of organizations which have given their support to repeal. Groups (included) the traditionally conservative Canadian Medical Association, the Canadian Psychiatric Association, the Unitarian and United Churches and the federal Liberal Party policy conference held last year. It was the question of abortion that came up most often in the cross- country hearings of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1968 and of the Liberal Task Force last year.

Abortion has become one of the sharpest political questions in Canada today. It is around this issue that the forces cf reaction have decided to confront the emerging feminist movement. In the past year Trudeau has taken a firm stand against repealing the abortion laws, calling women who want abortions "murderers." Last spring the courts passed an injunction to prevent an Ottawa woman from getting a legal abortion on the grounds that her husband and his lawyer could act in defense of the fetus. With the full backing and support of the Catholic Church and other reactionary groups an organized and mobilizable opposition to the abortion campaign has been built (Right to Life, Students for Life, etc.)

The main reason why the abortion issue has come to the fore at this time is that the contradictions which women face are sharpest around this question. It is primarily repressive laws which stand between women and their right to safe, legal abortion. Because abortion is illegal, unlike childcare or equal pay, the source of the problem is clearer. The anti-abortion laws exist to perpetuate the oppression of women, to maintain the myth that "biology is women's

destiny". The bourgeoisie is in no way interested in granting women control over their bodies; it is in no way interested in repealing the anti-abortion laws.

Abortion is a key issue for the feminist movement because it has a clear focus on the federal government and the capitalist state, rather than being aimed just against a particular boss or university administration. It is an issue which affects every woman to one degree or another, especially young and working class women. This struggle is for a fundamental democratic right of women, to control their own lives. It also raises what is supposed to have been the task of the bourgeois revolution: the separation of church and state.

Because the denial of control of their own bodies is an important aspect of women's oppression; and because, as we have seen, the ruling class and all the anti-abortion forces are determined to do all they can to block this struggle, we know that it will take a mass struggle to win this demand.

As revolutionists we see no contradiction between struggling to improve the situation of women - that is, fighting for reforms - and our aim of making the socialist revolution. In fact, they are completely complimentary. We approach the struggle for repeal as we do other struggles around democratic or transitional demands. That is, we view such demands as **levers** which can be used to change the relationship of forces in favor of the oppressed. The demand for repeal, because of its potential to mobilize masses of women in struggle against the state, is such a lever. Victory for this campaign will not only mean that a very real need of women is met, but can also establish the principle that women must have control over their destinies. The establishment of such a principle, and the impact which being involved in such a struggle will have on masses of women, can sharply undercut the ability of the ruling class to maneuver and can make masses of women aware of all aspects cf their oppression. A strong feminist movement, on the basis of such a victory, could better defend the rights of women on any number of issues and would present a formidable opponent to any attempts of the bourgeoisie to limit women's rights.

The involvement of the revolutionary vanguard is a key aspect of this fight. We see the potential to mobilize, involve, and organize thousands of women on this issue. The character of the struggle is not just determined by the demand, but also by **how** the fight is carried, the forms of struggle used.

We see the mass action abortion campaign as a concrete application of our mass action strategy - our strategy of building a mass feminist movement. It is through struggles like the fight for abortion law repeal that the women's movement is being built; through mass-oriented struggles around concrete demands which relate to the needs of women and lead in an anti-capitalist direction.

United front-type coalitions such as the Canadian Women's Coalition and the Front Commun are vital to the success of this struggle and provide a model of the most effective way for women to organize at this time. These coalitions aim to unite women from every sector of society, to reach out to individuals and organizations with very diverse political views. They make very clear and understandable demands on the government and provide a vehicle for uniting the greatest number of women in the most powerful struggle yet to emerge. Although women face different forms and degrees of oppression under capitalism, they can be united around concrete issues like abortion law repeal. The English and Quebec coalitions have already played an important role, as well, in reaching out to individuals and groups that do not as yet identify with the overall aims of the feminist movement.

# # #

Building The Feminist Movement On The Campuses And High Schools

The continued deepening of the radicalization of student women poses greater possibilities for the YS/LJS than ever before. It is on the campuses that we see the sharpest expression of feminist consciousness at this time. As revolutionists we identify with every expression of feminism - of women struggling against their oppression. On the campuses we have the opportunity to participate in debates and discussions on all the central questions before the women's movement and to bring to this movement the lessons of over one hundred years of working class struggle.

There have been many indications over the past year that growing numbers of student women are interested in examining every aspect of women's oppression and are searching for ways to carry their struggle forward. One indication of this is the numerous women's study courses, involving hundreds of women, that have been formed in the past two years. These courses provide a very important forum for discussion and debate on a wide range of vital questions facing the feminist movement: the relationship between class oppression and the oppression of women as a sex; the historical roots of women's oppression; how women can unite effectively; and strategy for the feminist movement.

Because these courses provide forums for such debates it is important that the YS/LJS participate in them. Many of these courses are presently run by the administration and in some cases provide a very conservative lecture program. For this reason fights around the right of women to democratically control these courses, to have them accredited and open to women from the community, can be very important. Such women's studies departments can be examples of how the resources of the university can be put at the service of the overall feminist movement.

It is important in these courses that we pose our analysis of women's oppression and the feminist movement. As revolutionists we have a unique role to play in explaining the historical roots of women's oppression and the need for a socialist revolution. Through these courses we can reach hundreds of women with our mass action strategy for the feminist movement and the key role of the abortion campaign in building a mass feminist movement.

We also have to intervene in the women's struggles which emerge on the campuses and high schools. We put forward a series of concrete demands, as part of our student and women's liberation program, which relate to the needs of student women and which lead them into struggle against the administration and government: free childcare for students, faculty and staff; full, administration-funded women's studies departments controlled by women; free birth control information and devices; full gynecological services including abortion on demand; an end to streaming; for full access of women to all levels of education and against the cutbacks which affect women most sharply. These demands, and others that will arise, have the potential to mobilize masses of students in struggle and build the feminist movement.

On the campuses and in the high schools, as in other arenas, we can reach the most and have the greatest impact on the feminist movement through the struggle for abortion law repeal. The propaganda work we do around a wide range of questions concerning feminism is extremely important and a central part of winning women to a revolutionary perspective. But the process of radicalization among masses of women can only really deepen and develop if women are drawn into motion around concrete demands. Although we will support and build other struggles that arise, it Is around the issue of abortion law repeal that we see the greatest possibilities to build a mass struggle in the present period. This struggle has already played a vanguard role in educating hundreds of women who might otherwise have turned to dead-end strategies. Our work in this campaign has won us the confidence of many of the most consistent feminist fighters - women who have come to an understanding of our full program for the student movement and have joined our ranks.

Our overall strategy for the feminist movement on the campuses and high schools is a

strategy for women's liberation universities and schools. This concrete application of our red university strategy is aimed at putting the vast resources presently locked up in the educational system at the service of the entire feminist struggle. We aim to transform the schools and universities from instruments in the oppression of women into organizing centers for the feminist movement.

The women's liberation university and schools strategy is based on both the strengths and weaknesses of the student wing of the feminist movement. Student women alone cannot build a mass feminist movement and must reach out to women in all sectors of society and unite with them in a struggle for their liberation. On the other hand, student women can use the campuses and schools to build the feminist movement. Because of their combativity, student women can also serve as an important catalyst in winning the feminist movement as a whole to a mass action perspective.

Both the women's studies courses and the abortion referenda campaign of last spring are examples, in an embryonic form, of our women's liberation university strategy. The referenda generated important debates on the question of a woman's right to control her own body; involved hundreds of women in struggle; brought thousands more to question this aspect of women's oppression; and were important steps in building the cross-city coalitions of student and non-student women. Although there was no struggle of great enough scope to seize the resources of the university as a whole, this action had an impact on thousands of students and broad layers of women outside the university.

OPPONENTS

All of our opponents in the women's liberation movement have one political characteristic in common - they all attack or abstain from the mass action abortion campaign. Their opposition to the abortion campaign is the concrete expression of their opposition to the independent political action by masses of women on their own behalf.

Reformists

Reformists within the women's liberation movement try to blunt and limit the revolutionary dynamic of the feminist movement. Some do so consciously, while others have illusions that women's liberation can be won within the framework of capitalism.
Rather than mobilizing masses of women in independent struggle against the ruling class,the reformists attempt to persuade and influence the ruling class. They see working through parliamentary channels, lobbying members of parliament, and so on, as **the** way to win concessions from the government. They counter-pose these methods of struggle to mass action on the grounds that mass action may harm the efforts at polite lobbying.

The leadership of such groups as Women for Political Action and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women fall into the category of reformists. Women for Political Action, for example, puts forward a strategy of supporting women candidates, including those who support capitalist parties, as the primary way for women to fight their oppression. That is, they believe that it is essentially through parliamentary means that women will gain political power. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women believes that by pressuring the government, rather than by independent mass action, women can end their oppression. We sometimes confront such reformist views in the abortion law repeal struggle, for instance with organizations like the United Church, who, while supporting the Canadian Women's Coalition, want to modify its clear demands, and mass action perspective.

The right wing leadership of the NDP is also consciously reformist. While the NDP, as

the political arm of organized labor, has the potential to become a powerful ally of women in their struggle for liberation, this leadership has consistently attempted to block the NDP from putting forward a full program for women and using its resources to mobilize its rank and file around such issues as abortion, childcare and equal pay. Part of our orientation of winning the NDP to a socialist program includes winning it to full and active support for the feminist movement.

Another reformist current within the feminist movement puts forward a strategy of establishing counter-institutions in an attempt to meet the needs of women. These women believe that setting up small childcare centers, abortion referral services and women's "collectives" can escape the existing institutions of capitalism and build counter-institutions that can solve the problems that masses of women face. They do not under stand that women's consciousness will be changed primarily through struggle and that the institutions of society have to be fundamentally transformed if women are to win their liberation.

Ultralefts

The ultralefts abstain from struggles around the demands of the feminist movement on the grounds that these demands are not "revolutionary" enough, or that they do not explicitly oppose capitalism. These positions are characterized by a search for shortcuts around the long, hard task of building a mass movement. They vastly over-estimate capitalism's ability to solve its own contradictions, and meet the needs of women. Therefore they are unable to see the revolutionary potential of the women's liberation movement.

The ultralefts have little confidence in the ability of women to learn through struggling for their own demands. Because of this they put forward no program for the mobilization of women who do not yet see that their enemy is the capitalist system itself. They reject building a bridge between existing consciousness and revolutionary consciousness, and as a result they counterpose "anti-imperialist" or "socialist" sloganeering to organizing masses in struggle.

Because of these errors the ultralefts have no perspective for building a mass feminist movement. This is typified by those forces, like the Old Mole at the University of Toronto, the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire in Montreal and most 'new left' forces, who call for socialist women's groups and who see no point in organizing women except as workers.

Most ultralefts have a tendency to be sectarian, that is, they apply a preconceived schema onto the class struggle and when the masses do not fit into their schema they substitute themselves for the masses. As a result they are unable to understand the nature of the current radicalization or its relationship to the feminist movement. The misconceptions of some sectarians, such as the Canadian Party of Labor and the Canadian Communist Party (Marxist Leninist), are so deep that they abstain entirely from the feminist movement, referring to it as a "bourgeois" movement.

Communist Party and the Young Communist League

The Communist Party, and the Young Communist League, a youth group in agreement with the Communist Party, have not as yet seriously participated in the feminist movement. Where they have, their program and proposals have been similar to those of the reformists.

The reformism of the CP and YCL, their opposition to independent mass action, has a different origin than other reformist currents. First, their position flows from their uncritical support for the Soviet bureaucracy's foreign policy of peaceful co-existence with world capitalism. Because of this they continually look for ways to direct the development of independent mass movements into reformist channels in an attempt to maintain capitalist stability. Secondly, they defend the reactionary domestic policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy

which has maintained the inferior status of women in the USSR to protect its bureaucratic privileges.

Tasks of the YS/LJS

Our main tasks in the coming period are building the mass action abortion campaign and taking our socialist propaganda into the feminist movement. Where our forces permit it we should also be involved in whatever struggles arise on the campuses and high schools, putting forward our mass action strategy and demands which can lead these struggles forward.

The central aspect of building the abortion campaign is our work in the Canadian Women's Coalition and the Front Commun. The breadth of the forces which these coalitions involve in the campaign is crucial to the success of this struggle. Our role as builders of the student wing of the campaign is to explain to campus and high school women the strategic role that this campaign can play in building a mass feminist movement and involve student feminists in all aspects of the campaign.

Socialist propaganda is a vital part of all our work because of the important role it plays in helping new layers of women who are drawn into struggle to generalize their experiences in the feminist movement and draw revolutionary conclusions. Just as the women's liberation movement is needed to unite women who want to fight their oppression, a revolutionary socialist organization is necessary to co-ordinate and lead all the struggles of the oppressed in overturning the capitalist system. The way we will convince women of the need to join the YS/LJS is through our socialist propaganda. Selling our press is the key vehicle for posing our full program for women's liberation and we should use it to intervene in debates and build the campaigns of the feminist movement. Selling single copies and subscriptions to *Young Socialist, Libération* and *Labor Challenge* is essential in winning women to the YS/LJS.

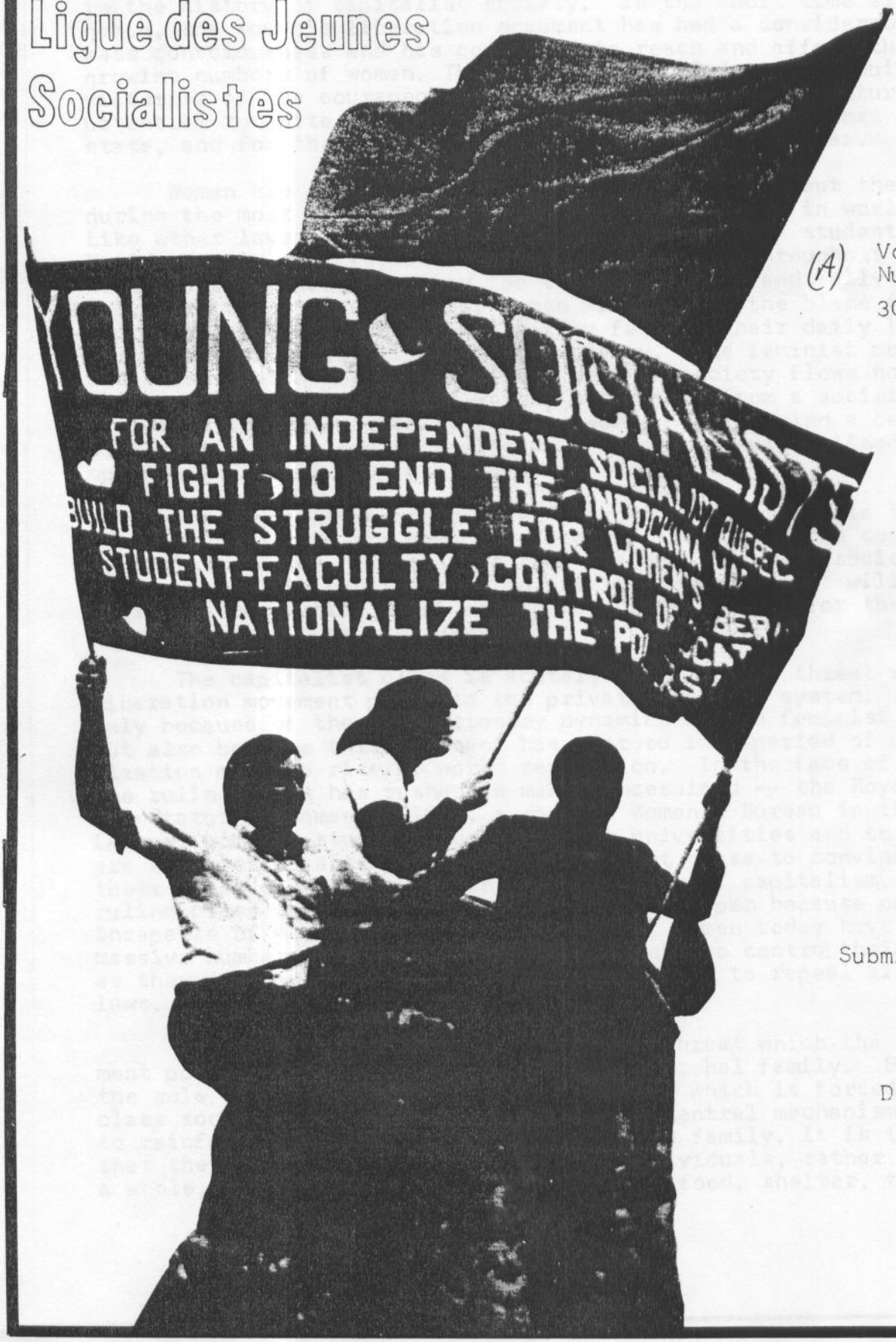
Campus and high school elections provide us with excellent opportunities to put forward our program and strategy for the feminist movement, linking it to our overall program in the student movement and for socialism. Whenever possible we should run women candidates and use the elections to build both the feminist movement and our movement. As well, our classes and forums on the campuses and in the schools are an important way to put forward the full spectrum of our ideas and win women to our perspective.

The task of winning feminists to a revolutionary perspective and to the YS/LJS is central to all our work. We have to be very conscious of talking with women about our ideas, and of attempting to convince them that they can be most effective in fighting for women's liberation by joining the YS/LJS. The most consistent feminists will ultimately conclude that this society is sexist to the core, and that only a total transformation of the social and economic institutions of this society can free women from oppression. Our task is to convince them of the crucial role which the YS/LJS, along with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, has to play in the coming socialist revolution, and with it, the liberation of women.

Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

(A) Volume 8
Number 10 (13pp)
30 cents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FIGHT TO END THE INDOCHINA WAR
BUILD THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S
STUDENT-FACULTY CONTROL OF

WOMEN'S LIBERATION RESOLUTION

Submitted by the Central Executive Council

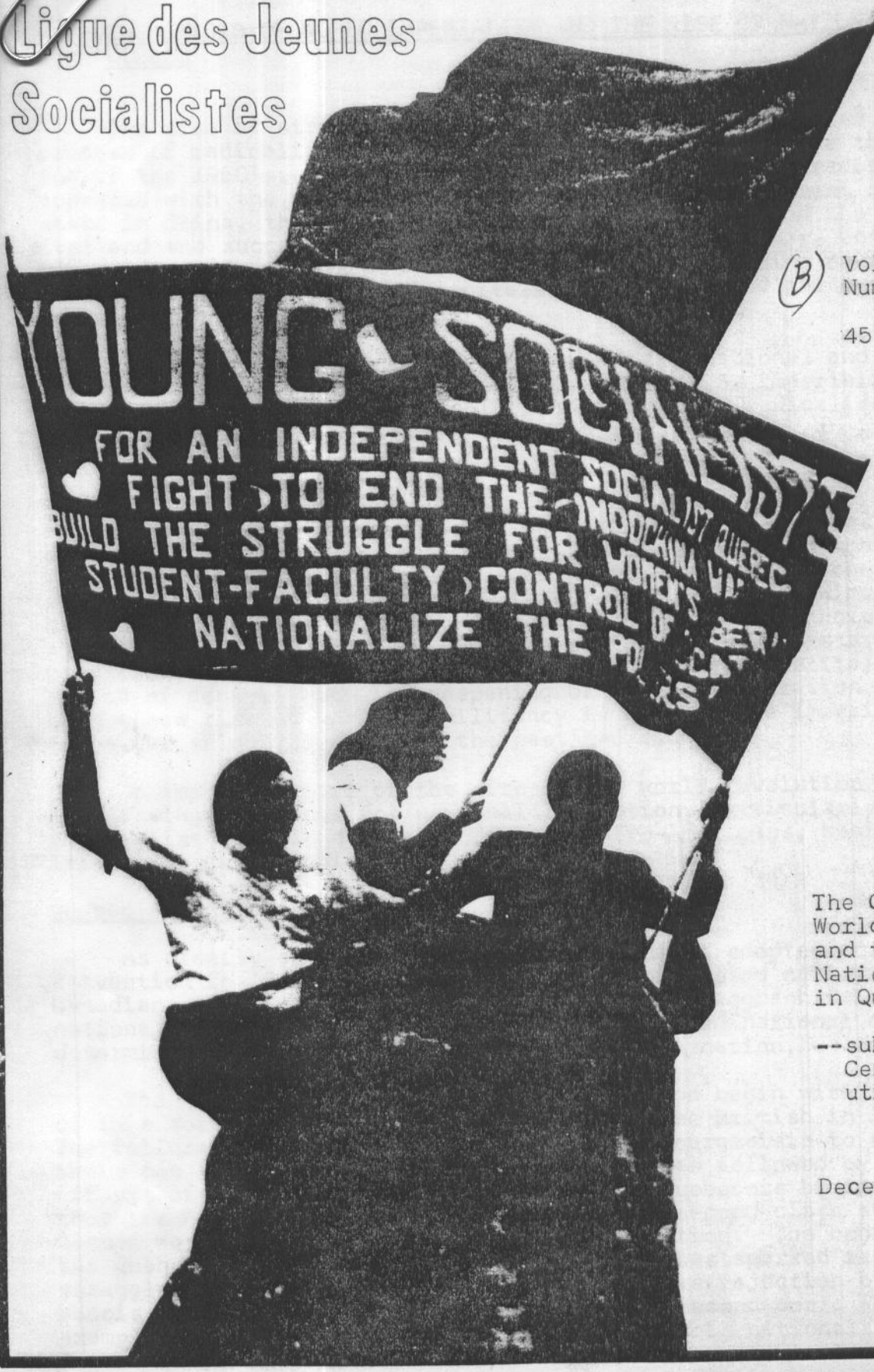
December 1972

Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972

(B) Volume 8
Number 11(a) (1977)

45 cents



The Crisis of World Imperialism and the Rise of Nationalism in Quebec

--submitted by the Central Executive Council

December, 1972

THE CRISIS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN QUEBEC

The rise of struggles in the colonial nations released a profound process of radicalization which has swept the world since the beginning of the 1960's. The first signs of the new wave of radicalization appeared with the colonial revolutions: the establishment of a worker's state in China, the revolutionary upsurges in Korea and the Middle East and the successful Cuban revolution. The cold war, anti-communist hysteria of the 1950's was effectively broken, spurring on the radicalization within the advanced capitalist countries and the bureaucratised worker's states in the 1960's.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for national and social liberation against the massive efforts of the U.S. imperialist war machine to turn back their revolution carried the radicalization of the oppressed throughout the world to a higher stage.

In the advanced capitalist countries the oppressed nationalities, youth and women responded first to the continuing crisis of world imperialism by revolting against the most sacred traditions and values of capitalist ideology: against the institutions which uphold the flagrant injustices of society, such as the government, church, family and the schools. At the root of this revolt is the growing contradiction between the tremendous potential of modern technology to eliminate poverty, disease and human suffering and the stark reality of racism, sexism, pollution and war which permeate capitalism in this period of decay. With the deepening of the radicalization there has been a new rise of worker's militancy in many of the imperialist countries, breaking the quiet of the past two decades.

An important part of the rise of the world revolution has been the growing movements for national liberation, particularly within the imperialist heartlands: the Chicanos, Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Irish, Basques, Acadians and the Quebecois.

Quebec -- An Oppressed Nation

As clearly outlined in the Quebec document adopted at the YS/LJS convention in 1969, Quebec constitutes an oppressed nation within the Canadian state. The common culture, history, geographical area, national language and above all the well-defined national consciousness determine our characterization of Quebec as a nation.

The historical roots of the Quebec nation begin with the conquest of this North American colony of France by the British in 1759-60. The failure of the nascent French-Canadian bourgeoisie to establish their own state, in the 1837-38 rebellion, was followed by the crude efforts of Lord Durham to "assimilate" the Quebecois by imposing on them the English language and culture. The second-class status of Quebec was formalized in 1867 with Confederation. The oppression of the Quebecois by the federal Canadian state has sparked repeated struggles throughout its history. The massive rejection by the Quebecois of conscription during the First and Second World Wars is one example. More recently, a new rise of Quebecois nationalism has grown out of the international radicalization -- shown most clearly by the

massive struggles for French language rights, the campaign to free political prisoners and the growing support for political independence.

The Canadian bourgeoisie has a vital stake in maintaining the oppression of the Quebec nation. This oppression which is economic, political and cultural has given rise to important struggles around democratic nationalist demands. The national oppression has also intensified all the contradictions of capitalism, giving rise to more explosive struggles around worker's economic demands, student struggles for democratic rights and the growing demands of women.

Despite important changes in the Quebec economy, above all the modernization of industry which took place after the Second World War, the high level of foreign economic domination, particularly by English Canadian and U.S. corporations, has deformed the Quebec economy. Quebec remains primarily a source of raw materials and cheap labour for those imperialist corporations. It is the Quebecois workers who foot the bill for the deformation of the Quebec economy in the lower wages and higher unemployment rate among francophones in Quebec. Thus workers' struggles for an improvement in their economic situation are quickly brought into more sharp conflict with the Quebec government and with their Anglo-Canadian or American bosses.

In Quebec, English is the language of privilege in all domains. In order to have a decent job one must learn English; the mass media bombards the Quebecois with English and anglicisms. The anglicization of youth, primarily through the school system, is increasing with plans to close 42 French schools over the next two years in Montreal alone. This lack of elementary language rights for the vast majority (80 percent) who speak French has touched off many mass struggles to defend the very survival of the nation.

The War Measures Act demonstrated that the Quebecois do not control their political destiny. It was the Canadian army which was sent to repress the nationalist movement on the pretext of stopping the terrorism of the FLQ. The federal government and the spokesmen for the Canadian bourgeoisie have repeatedly announced their intention to fight the growing demand for political independence, and have denied the right of self-determination to the Quebecois in the name of "Canadian unity." While the Canadian bourgeoisie could be forced to make concessions in the face of growing mass struggles, there is no evidence that the hard line against political independence has changed.

The oppression of Quebec has manifested itself in sharp conflicts in the schools. The attempts to stream-line the education system to fulfil the needs of the modernized industries led to the hastily and inadequately built CEGEP (community college) system, which also laid the basis of the most massive student occupations ever in North America in 1968-69.

Women also are doubly oppressed in Quebec. They face more inhumane laws than women in other provinces in the Canadian state. Many very elementary, democratic rights of married women were only recently granted, such as the right to a bank account in her own name, the right to be on a jury if she is a property owner and even the right to drink draught beer. The heavy influence of the Catholic

church with its tight control of the Francophone hospitals and schools, has meant a more restricted access to contraception and abortion, especially for young women. Sexual education has been virtually non-existent. The "evil" nature of women flowing from the "original sin of Eve" has until very recently been pounded into young people in the home, school and church. The heavy influence of the church has always been encouraged by the Canadian bosses to better keep the oppressed submissive. Recently the radicalization has very much shaken the hold of the church. Women in Quebec are proportionally the highest users of the birth control pill in Canada, despite the Pope's decrees. The struggle for the right to abortion has received wide support in Quebec despite the church's position that it is murder. Thus, the increased militancy and rejection by Quebec women of their inferior status as women flows from their oppression as women within the oppressed nation of Quebec.

Thus the national oppression of Quebec affects and interacts with all other capitalist oppression, intensifying the contradictions of capitalism and heightening the explosiveness of all struggles for national democratic, economic, sexual and youth demands.

The Demand For Independence of Quebec

It is in the context of the developing struggles of oppressed around the world that Quebec nationalism has taken a new direction in the late 1960's. As revolutionary socialists, we have always supported the right of self-determination of oppressed nations. (As we stated on page one of the 1969 Quebec document). The 1970 Quebec document of the LSO/LSA explains our criterion for supporting independence: "The workers party defends unconditionally the democratic right to self-determination for all oppressed nations, up to and including their right to separate. But whether socialists in an oppressed nation like Quebec should demand political independence depends on how we see the direction of the struggle unfolding, and above all on whether the mass of the population in the oppressed nation shows a clear inclination to mobilize in support of the demand for political independence in the struggle for national emancipation."

In 1970, the LJS/YS adopted the position of support for the demand for independence. We judged at that time that this was the clear direction of the national liberation struggle in Quebec. Since our last convention this direction has been clearly affirmed. A growing number of trade union bodies have either adopted the independence stance or plan referendums which will clearly favor independence. There is growing support among students as indicated by a referendum at Rosemont CEGEP in Montreal, October 1972, in which 77% of the students there supported independence.

Since the Federal state has made clear that it cannot and will not permit the emancipation of the Quebec nation and that it cannot solve the crisis of capitalism in Quebec such as high unemployment and a rotten education system, growing numbers of Quebecois are ready to struggle for a complete break from the Canadian state. We support this struggle because it will clearly advance the struggle of the Quebec masses for national emancipation and for socialism.

The Struggle for a French Quebec

The right of Quebecois to live, work and study in French, the language of the vast majority, is a democratic demand which socialists must defend and which the LJS/YS has a consistent record of defending.

Our program for the defense of the French language is based on our analysis that the real source of linguistic oppression is the conquered privileges of the tiny English-speaking elite which owns and controls Quebec. We demand a French-only school system and French as the language of work. In order to reverse the alarming trends towards Anglicisation, we call for an integrated, secular, publically-financed school system in which all courses and all texts are in French with the exception of optional second-language studies which would include English.

The LJS/YS opposes Bill 63, which serves to codify into the law the conquered English privileges by guaranteeing "free choice" of language which means in Quebec that English will be chosen by growing numbers. We are also opposed to the PQ and Liberal government's proposed amendments to Bill 63 which would force children of immigrants of non-Anglophone descent and Francophones, to attend French schools while permitting the continuation of English-language privileges for those of "English" origin. This amendment would create further conflicts between immigrants and Francophones, and would cloud the real question involved.

The struggle for the French language is one of the most important nationalist struggles to emerge. For those political tendencies who claim that the fight for a French Quebec is racist, we answer that it is the present system that is 'racist'; it is the bourgeoisie which has pitted Anglophone worker against Francophone worker on this question. The only basis on which unity of the working class will be won is on the basis of recognition by the Anglophone workers of the double oppression of the Francophones, and by winning them to support for a French Quebec.

The Dynamic of the Quebec National Struggle

Such democratic rights of a nation as having the national language as the official language, the right to political independence and the control of the economy by the nation, rightly belonged to the period of the rise of capitalism. These were bourgeois democratic demands won by many nations in the youth of capitalism, and usually established by bourgeois democratic revolutions as in the United States in 1776. In the period of the rise of imperialism and the need for expansion of markets, many nations were prevented from accomplishing the bourgeois democratic tasks.

Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution foresaw the development of the colonial revolution and the rise of nationalism among the oppressed nations. He explained that the struggle for these democratic demands is profoundly revolutionary in the epoch of imperialism and the decay of capitalism on a world scale. The bourgeoisie is incapable of leading the process of national liberation to its completion since this requires the breaking free of foreign imperialist

domination. The only road to the emancipation of the oppressed nations is that of the socialist revolution.

Without worker's power, formal political independence, linguistic or other reforms may still be won by massive struggles of the nation. The strikes in Quebec last May showed the tremendous power of the working class in its ability to paralyse the functioning of society. It is the only class capable of leading the struggle for national emancipation to fruition.

The Cuban revolution, for example, shows us how a petty bourgeois leadership bent on accomplishing an independent Cuba, and much-needed agrarian reform (both of which are traditionally bourgeois goals), was forced by the intransigence of capitalism to carry forward not only democratic reforms, but also socialist measures which ended in the establishment of a worker's state. Despite the lack of conscious direction towards socialism, the socialist revolution was the only means to accomplish these democratic reforms.

This does not mean that the accomplishment of an independent and socialist Quebec will come about automatically. The revolutionary party is decisive. Many struggles have been crushed by the lack of this essential instrument.

The key question posed for the Quebec masses at this time in the struggle for national emancipation and all other struggles which together make up the class struggle, is the necessity to break from bourgeois politics -- the need for independent labor political action. The breaking of the masses from the bourgeois Parti Quebecois, and the launching of a mass labor party, based on the trade unions, would represent a tremendous step forward in the liberation of Quebec.

The LJS/YS fully supports the demands of the Quebecois nationalists for political independence and for a French Quebec. We participate with the masses in the struggles for these and other democratic demands for national liberation. We pose mass action in the streets, independent of the bourgeois parties and their back-room dealing. We use the lessons of such struggles to raise the present level of consciousness to a higher level -- towards the need for the working class to take the power.

The class struggle is not something separate from the struggle for national emancipation. The nationalist struggle is an important component of the ongoing class struggle in Quebec. The class struggle is not reserved for a "second stage" after the accomplishment of national liberation. Nor does the class struggle replace the struggle for national emancipation, as that struggle moves to a "higher level". The unaccomplished national tasks will remain a key part of the class struggle in Quebec until after the socialist revolution. On the other hand, the national struggle is not "more important than" other aspects of the class struggle. National oppression will thrust the Quebecois in the vanguard in the struggle of the working class and oppressed layers against the Canadian state and in the international fight for socialism. The fight for an independent and French Quebec is an important component of this international struggle for socialism.

II. THE ROOTS OF THE QUEBEC YOUTH RADICALIZATION

The radicalization of Quebec youth is rooted in the growing crisis of world imperialism and the new rise of the world revolution. Inspired by the rise of the colonial revolution and the struggle of oppressed nationalities, such as the Black liberation movement in the U.S., Quebec youth, especially students, have been in the forefront of the radicalization that has profoundly shaken Quebec society as a whole. The youth of Quebec are increasingly aware of the Quebecois as a distinct and oppressed people within the Canadian capitalist state and they have been profoundly influenced by all the other basic contradictions of capitalist society.

In the draft Quebec Resolution, adopted by the LJS/YS convention in October 1969, we noted that : "Recent Quebec history has seen a massive radicalization of youth, far beyond the level reached in English Canada... And in all mass struggles of youth (e.g. the October 1968 occupation movement in the schools, the militancy of young trade unionists) the national struggle has profoundly shaped the demands, form and character of their movements, and given them a militancy and scope that is so far exceptional in Canada."

The general contradictions of capitalism which underlie the world-wide youth revolt are sharpened and intensified by the added contradictions flowing out of the status of Quebec as an oppressed nation. One consequence of this is that Quebec youth, in contrast to English Canadian youth, suffer specific national oppression which propels them to link up to the source of their problems and their perspective for emancipation with the destiny of the entire nation in general, and the struggles of the working class and underprivileged in particular.

In Quebec as elsewhere the new needs of capitalism for a skilled, mobile labor force and the consequent expansion and structural changes of the education system has thrust youth into mass educational institutions for a much longer period of time. As a result the radicalization of youth has tended to find its major, most dynamic and most articulate expression among student youth. The rise of a visible, world-wide student movement struggling around the key issues of the world class struggle, such as the defence of the Vietnamese revolution from U.S. aggression, has helped to further deepen and extend the youth radicalization as a whole.

A series of important changes, which began with the postwar expansion of capitalism, were carried out in the early sixties to bring Quebec society into line with the new needs and demands of monopoly capital. This was the epoch when Lesage and the Liberal Party came to power as "l'equipe du tonnerre" promising to take Quebec out of its backwardness, out of the dark and ideologically stiffling Duplessis days. The 1970 LSA/LSO document "For an Independent and Socialist Quebec" remarks that this coming to power of the Lesage government "...was accompanied by an escalation of fiscal demands by Quebec, by the passage of certain social measures such as a late but profound reform of the education system, the creation of certain state institutions to compliment and participate in capitalist expansion."

It is within the contest of these changes and the nationalist rhetoric that accompanied them that the "education reform" was initiated in the

early 1960's with the Parent Commission, which by 1964 made its first major proposals for modernizing and adapting an outmoded, clerical-dominated education system to the needs of modern capitalist society. In 1964 a public ministry of education was formed and the process of direct government intervention to replace the previous Catholic authorities in structuring a national, uniform public education system was begun.

A phenominal expansion of education took place in the 1960's. For example, in 1961, 60 percent of Quebec's adult population had not reached a grade eight level of education. While only a tiny minority of Francophone Quebecois succeeded in obtaining the equivalent of a high school diploma in 1961, ten years later in 1971, a majority were graduating from high school. In the same ten years government spending on education quadrupled. In the nine years up to 1970 enrolment in the CEGEPs increased by nearly 1,100 ercent! In 1969 the University of Quebec in Montreal was opened and later extended to other cities such as Trois Rivieres, Rimouski and Chicoutimi.

The growing opportunities provided by the education expansion for Quebec youth to see the contradictions of bourgeois society; to study, learn and organize around the flagrant injustices of capitalism such as language discrimination, are a major reason why Quebec youth are in revolt. The tremendous contradiction between what the government claims its educational institutions are for (equal opportunity, individual development, to develop creativity) and the reality of hierarchical, authoritarian and intellectually stiffling mass institutions further propels the radicalization.

In responding to the widespread disenchantment with the "educational reform" and the growing radical criticism of the educational system in general, Quebec education minister, Francois Cloutier, tried to explain that this widespread disenchantment is linked up to "unrealistic expectations" that were generated at its origins to make it appealing to youth and the growing nationalist consciousness of the sixties:

"Let us simply remember the great hopes that marked the beginning. Didn't we present it as the first great collective project of Quebec society; as the most evident manifestation of the quiet revolution; as the key to our economic emancipation; the motor of our quest for our identity... There was no doubt a good dose of illusions in this enthusiasm. In fact reality has turned out differently than we had envisaged it would."

The growing disenchantment with the education reform by Quebec students is part and parcel of their growing disenchantment with the so-called "quiet revolution," federalism and capitalism in general.

The national question in Quebec has accelerated the process of demystifying the "neutral" role and "ivory tower" concept of the school. Through their efforts to organize around broad social or national issues students discover that their school, CEGEP or university, far from serving the needs of the oppressed or of students and teachers, perpetuates all the forms of oppression, racism and sexism of capitalist society. As the Quebec teachers' document states: "The Schools Serve the Ruling Class."

The growing recognition by students and teachers in Quebec that the schools are class institutions further deepens the youth radicalization in

Quebec. It further confirms the possibilities for a mass anti-capitalist student movement which can challenge the authoritarian nature of the schools within the framework of a radical transformation of the entire society they serve.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUEBEC STUDENT MOVEMENT

1968-69

In the fall of 1968 the first mass upsurge of Quebec students took place, inspired by the revolutionary events of that year: May-June in France the Czecho/Slovak events, the Tet Offensive in Vietnam, and others. The upsurge took place in the midst of a significant rise of Quebec nationalism following DeGaule's visit to Quebec in 1967 and the mass nationalist demonstration against Trudeau at the St. Jean Baptiste holiday in June of 1968.

Over 50,000 students participated in teachins, demonstrations, occupations and other mass actions to express their generalized discontent with the education system and the so-called "reforme scolaire." The center of the revolt was in the Cegeps which had only just been created. University students were also involved, and it was the first mass upsurge of high school students in North America. At the root of the revolt was the crisis of capitalism in Quebec expressed in the increasing Anglicization of the school system, the crisis of jobs and the limited access to higher education for Francophone Cegep graduates (reflected in the demand for a second French university in Montreal; at that time there was only the University of Montreal).

In spite of it's lack of any clearly defined goals or demands and in spite of the absence of a serious national leadership, the spontaneous revolt lasted for more than three weeks. The themes of student power, Quebec nationalism and student-worker solidarity combined and generally provided the atmosphere in which thousands of Quebec students for the first time began to radically question the existing values and traditions of Quebec capitalist society. They saw their potential as students, united in mass actions, to play an important role in effecting social change.

The central weakness of the 1968 upsurge was, as we said in the 1969 Quebec document, the spontaneism and timidity of the student leadership in UGEQ (Union Generale des Etudiants du Quebec--General Union of Quebec Students).

"The spontaneous occupations caused by the sudden realization of the bankruptcy of the school system could only be sustained, win partial victories and defend themselves adequately with a correct leadership understanding the necessity of fighting for transitional demands and appealing for mass support from the population. This the UGEQ leadership was totally incapable of providing... Challenged by events they retreated into total inactivity and abject spontaneism to justify their dismal failure to lead."

UGEQ, and many of the existing local student organizations, disintegrated during or shortly after the struggle because of their own inadequacies and the repression and expulsion of many student leaders. But although the upsurge was eventually dissipated by the lack of leadership and political perspective the <u>student movement</u> itself was by no means decisively defeated.

The effects of the dissipation of the struggle and the crisis of

leadership were postponed by the rise of the unilingual struggle in 1969. Beginning with the victory in St. Leonard, then the mass demonstrations for "McGill Francais," the struggle for unilingualism led to a generalized student upsurge against Bill 63 in the fall of 1969. The militant mass actions, involving over 50,000 students, testify to the resiliancy and depth of the student revolt. This flows from the fact that the roots of the student radicalization go much deeper than the authoritarian nature and internal contradictions of the education system and are rooted in the crisis of capitalism. This is why it is primarily students who have been and continue to be in the vanguard of the mass action oriented wing of the nationalist movement and of the other important movements developing on many of the key issues of the world class struggle such as the women's liberation movement.

In our 1969 document (adopted before the Bill 63 demonstrations) we noted that: "The only movement which has been able to overcome the gap between the radicalization of the mass and the lack of leadership has been the unilingual movement." The document also points out that this in no way replaces the need for a conscious socialist student leadership.

The failure of the working class to come into action during the 1968-69 student upsurges was a key factor in disorienting many student militants. The defeat of these struggles, despite the prolonged mobilization of masses of students, showed that students, by themselves, cannot change society. In the absence of a revolutionary perspective for the student movement this led to disillusionment among many student militants who turned away from the mass struggle to try and win reforms through Parti Quebecois and, on the other hand, terrorism and ultraleftism. The LJS, although it had an influence (especially in the 1968 occupations), was too small to decisively effect events.

The failure of the Quebec working class to mobilize in a big way during the 1968-69 student upsurges does not mean that the issues raised by the student protests are not of vital concern to the working class. In fact, the student actions, especially around the language struggle, did succeed in mobilizing advanced sectors of the working class, including teachers. These student protests also had a considerable impact on the consciousness of the working class as a whole. The graduation of many of these students into important sectors of the working class (white collar workers, technicians) and teachers helped lay the groundwork for the radicalization of organized labor in Quebec that we see expressed in the anti-capitalist manifestos and the militant, bold actions undertaken by the union movement in the fall of 1971 and spring 1972.

The 1968 occupations were a vivid example of the transformation of capitalist schools into centers of revolutionary action and education. Although this cannot be maintained on a permanent basis at the level of the October '68 upsurge, the revolutionary experience it provided to masses of students in showing the possibilities for reaching out to the rest of the population have far-reaching consequences for building the revolutionary movement. This use of schools as organizing centers developed even further during the massive mobilizations against Bill 63. Although applied spontaneously, with little conscious planning, students had a natural tendency to use their schools to publish propaganda,

organize teachins and build actions that could involve broader sections of the population. What was lacking was a leadership which could make this part of a conscious and systematic strategy of the movement.

Parti Quebecois and Terrorism

The defeat of the Bill 63 occupations ushered in a "lull" in the Quebec student movement. Internationally this was marked by the failure of the 1968-69 struggles to lead to victories.

The crisis of leadership in the Quebec student movement and the failure of the working class to come into struggle led to a certain demoralization and disorientation of student militants. As a result many students turned from mass action in the streets to campaigning for the bourgeois Parti Quebecois. The other side of this capitulation to the P.Q. was the rise of terrorism in the wake of the defeat.

In the April 1970 elections the P.Q. was able to successfully co-opt much of the dynamism and militancy of students into bourgeois parliamentary electoral activity. The failure of the trade union leadership to provide a political alternative to the bourgeois P.Q. (to which they gave indirect support, rather than building a worker's party based on the trade unions) and the relative weakness of the revolutionary vanguard are the major reasons why students were able to go from militant mass actions in the streets to door-to-door vote soliciting for a capitalist party within a span of six months.

The rise of terrorism, one of several waves since the early 1960's, flowed from a certain cynicism about mass action and the general feeling of powerlessness, frustration and isolation that many radical students felt after 1969. This mood and situation also gave rise to a plethora of ultraleft, workerist and sectarian grouplets on Quebec campuses. Two months after the War Measures Act, in our 1970 convention document "Students and the Quebec Revolution," we said that "The task of Quebec revolutionaries today is not to study the use of dynamite or the art of kidnapping but to learn how to release the creative energy and the revolutionary potential of the masses so as to bring closer the historic day when Quebec will be independent and socialist." With the brutal lesson of the War Measures Act and the development of new mass struggles, especially among workers, support and sympathy for terrorism has declined.

The LJS /YS although very limited in terms of its forces, played an important role in providing student militants with a correct political perspective for a massive defense campaign, against the War Measures Act and for the freeing of political prisoners. This defense campaign was the first important activity following the blow dealt the nationalist and left movements by the imposition of the War Measures.

Early in 1971 the teacher's struggle against the declassification schemes of the government sparked some significant student struggles. Student strikers at Cegep Vieux Montreal succeeded in thwarting severe police repression and the administration's scheme to force all students to reregister at the Cegep by winning a court injunction against the adminstration's repressive manouever.

The nationalist movement took back the offensive in the July 1 demonstration of 5,000 students and workers against Confederation and for Independence. This demonstration was the beginning of a rise of mass actions on the labor and nationalist fronts. In the fall of 1971 the increased combativity and activity of students and workers was expressed in the demonstration of 8,000 for a French Quebec on October 16, the anniversary of the War Measures Act, and by the demonstration of 12,000 workers and students in solidarity with the La Presse strikers on Oct. 22. The strikes by professors at the University of Quebec and by employees at the University of Montreal posed the challenge of student-worker solidarity. The heightened conflict with the government posed the need for building a strong national student movement that could become a real force in the anti-capitalist struggle. It was in this context that the Front Etudiant du Quebec (Quebec Student Front) was conceived.

The May Strike and the Student Movement

1971 was a year of increasing struggles and militancy of the working class. This was the period when the radical monifestos were being written in the labor movement and worker's struggles were taking on a wider character than ordinary strikes. Most important was the illegal mass demonstration against La Presse, called by the unions, which the police brutally dispersed, killing one demonstrator and injuring many more. This was followed with a massive protest rally by workers and students.

In April the common front of the three labor federations met the government's refusal to grant the demands of the public workers with the massive public sector strike of 200,000 workers, the largest strike in Quebec history. The government, having failed to break the strike with its barrage of reactionary propaganda, declared the strike illegal by passing a special bill (law19) and jailed the union leaders when they refused to abide by strike-breaking injunctions. The jailing of the three trade union central leaders led to a spontaneous mass upsurge by over 100,000 workers across Quebec who took over radio stations and several towns until the reactionary forces were able to organize and the upsurge subsided.

The struggle of the workers inspired students who gained new confidence in their capacity to act collectively against government attacks on their rights. In the two weeks between the end of the public sector strike and the May upsurge, student struggles against the government played an important role in keeping the Bourrasa government on the defensive and inspiring workers to take up the struggle.

The main student struggle during these events was against the government's attempt to maintain the Cegep session at 82 days despite missed days caused by the strike. As well, there were a number of student-worker solidarity actions against Law 19 and the jailing of the union leaders.

By attempting to enforce the arbitrary norm of 82 days per session in the Cegeps immediately after it had ended the 11-day public sector strike with anti-strike Law 19, the government hoped to turn students against teachers (the sector most defiant to the anti-Strike legislation).

This attempt to put the blame on teachers for the extension of the school year succeeded only in certain places, notable where the teachers themselves were demoralized add wanted to end the strike, such as in Hull. In most Cegeps students responded by launching a major campaign against the government and administrations who tried to prolong the school year. This national campaign, backed by the vast majority of Cegep students and inspired by the militant actions of Rosemont, St. Jerome and other Cegeps, had a considerable impact on public opinion. It helped stave off some severe blows that Bourassa intended to deal the unions with Law 19 and helped lay the groundwork for the massive upsurge that followed the jailing of the union leaders by its mass, anti-government character.

Some left groups said after the 82 day struggle that the Quebec student movement had regressed to narrow, corporatist student issues and lost interest in the major class struggle issues. This conclusion turns the facts on their head. It ignores the political conjuncture, the dynamic of the student struggle, the leadership's statements and actions and the living relationship of this struggle to the worker's struggle. In fact, the 82-day struggle, the first nation-wide and generalized student struggle since the 1968-69 upsurge, was a most promising development for the student movement. Although of brief duration, and co-ordinated only on a limited scale through the nascent Front Etudiant du Quebec, it again confirmed our perspective that students in their majority can be can be mobilized as a political force through a combination of their own school-centered issues and broader national issues such as solidarity actions with the working class.

Instead of imposing preconceived schemas on how, around what issue and where student struggles must develop if they are to be worthy of honorable mention in the "left's" catalogue of revolutionary struggles, Marxists seek to analyse the overall material and political conjuncture which give rise to these struggles and, from a class perspective, understand its dynamic and potential for the global anti-capitalist struggle of the working class and other oppressed layers of society.

The historic rise of the Quebec worker's movement in April and May has not rendered the student movement politically obsolete, as the workerists and ultralefts claim. For revolutionary youth in Quebec it has posed <u>even more sharply</u> the possibilities before the student movement. Just as the failure of the working class to move in 1968-69 confronted students with an objective limit in their struggles, the spring events of 1972 have laid the objective basis for going beyond 1968-69 in the student movement. The decisive element is the lack of a leadership which can provide a perspective to student militants - the red university strategy - that can give direction to the real struggles of students as they are emerging in life. On this central task the ultralefts have turned their backs.

<u>Recent Developments</u>

The rise of worker's struggles in Quebec has speeded the recovery of the Quebec student movement, inspiring students to undertake their own struggles both around school-centered and social issues.

In the fall of 1972 the government attempted to impose a "New Pedagogical Regime" on the Cegeps. This "New Regime" would intensify thetendency towards specialization and heavy work loads (extending courses to 45 hours/week) and provide the administrations with additional powers of repression against student activists (e.g. the right to force students to re-register in the case of a "crisis"). One of the main effects of these proposals would be the further restriction of access to students from lower income backgrounds and women. The "New Regime" is geared to strengthen the relationship of forces of the administrations and government against attempts by students and faculty to gain greater control over their institutions.

The government offensive against the students movement and its attempts to cutback education to better meet the needs of big business has led to a further generalization of student struggles since the May worker's upsurge. Cegep students responded to the "New Regime" with mass meetings across the province and, through the FEQ, began plans for a general strike and national demonstration forcing the government to back down, at least temporarily. In the fall of 1972 University of Quebec students fought administration attempts to cutback costs at the expense of students with mass meetings and a petition signed by over 4,000 students demanding free tuition. Cegep Ste-Hyacinthe students went on strike for over a month to protest the arbitrary firing of a professor for her "insubordination."

The developments in the student movement in the past year confirm the major features of the Quebec student movement: 1) its tremendous resiliency and capacity to respond quickly to major attacks by the bourgeoisie; 2) a growing understanding that successful struggles must be able to link up to the working class and other oppressed layers; 3) increasing recognition of the need for mass democratic student organizations with a national organization, leadership and strategy capable of effectively defending students against government attacks ; 4) its incorporation of nationalist demands (e.g. French as the language of instruction) and participation in nationalist actions; 5) a general openness to socialist ideas and the need for a revolutionary strategy for the student movement formulated by the Trotskyist concept of the Red University (elaborated in the 1972 YS/LJS political resolution, "The Nature and Challenge of the Youth Radicalization").

IV. THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND THE TASKS OF THE LJS.

The Crisis of Leadership

The most important question before the Quebec student movement is the need for a revolutionary leadership which has a correct analysis of the youth radicalization and which has successfully assimilated the lessons of the past. Only such a leadership can consistently formulate the correct demands and tactics, within the framework of a long term strategy, which can advance the struggles of students and avoid the errors of the past. Such a strategy must be part of the overall struggle against capitalism.

The new left, spontaneist leadership which dominated the 1968-69 upsurges of Quebec students was tested and found wanting. It's inability to put forward a realistic, revolutionary perspective for student militants was an important factor in the disorientation and demoralization of developing student leaders. Many abandoned politics astogether, others went to the bourgeois P.Q. and some went to terrorism and ultraleftism. Although the LJS played a certain role in this period it was unable to decisively influence the course of events. But the LJS is the only organized tendency in the student movement which has maintained a certain continuity and is in a position to transmit the key lessons of that period to present-day developing student leaders.

Since the 1968-69 student upsurges major sections of the Quebec working class have confronted the bourgeois state in bold mass actions, pointing to the decisive role the working class will play in the struggle for national liberation. Although it is still lacking independent political perspectives and organization the motion of the class makes it easier for revolutionaries to explain to students the revolutionary potential of the working class. The need for a revolutionary party is more evident. And thus , the need for a revolutionary youth organization which fights for independent labor political action and the establishment of an independent and socialist Quebec is more clearly posed to students.

The LJS represents the essential core of this revolutionary youth organization. Although we are presently a small group, our norms and program are rooted in the revolutionary Marxist movement through our links with the LSO/LSA, and through it with the Fourth International.

We have a core of cadre tested in student struggles and in the tasks of building a Trotskyist youth organization in Quebec. With a correct analysis of the youth radicalization in Quebec and a correct understanding of what strategy is needed to advance the student movement, the LJS aims to become the decisive subjective factor in solving the political crisis of the Quebec Student movement.

The Parti Quebecois and the need for a Quebec labor party

Despite the high level of militancy and the explosive character of the mass struggles in Quebec there is a relatively low level of political consciousness in both the worker's movement and the student movement. This is particularly reflected in the widespread support for the bourgeois Parti Quebecois among radicalizing students, workers and women. The P.Q. is a central obstacle to the development of worker's and student's struggles on all fronts, including the language and national struggles. On all major questions, such as Law 19 and the repeal of Bill 63, it has sided with the old bourgeois parties, maneuvering cleverly with minor ammendments and demagogy to maintain the widespread illusion that it is not a bourgeois party.

While the working class upsurge poses new possibilities for the student movement the union leadership's unofficial support for the P.Q. and its refusal to launch a labor party have blocked the development of both the class and national struggle. The NDP in Quebec is not the labor party that is necessary, having few connections with, or roots in, the Quebec working class. Its major importance is its link to the NDP in English Canada which is the present political expression of the English Canadian Labor movement.

In the absence of a labor party based on the trade unions the P.Q. reinforces a strong belief in bourgeois reforms and obscures the need for socialism to resolve the crisis of capitalism in Quebec. The P.Q. promotes the widespread belief among radicals that the real task is to solve the national question by electing the P.Q. to power and then, at some later, indefinite period, to worry about the struggle for socialism. The LJS must explain why Quebec can only achieve national liberation through the socialist revolution.

Our Political Opponents in the Quebec Student Movement

In the student movement the lack of a class perspective is reflected in widespread support for the P.Q. On the other hand there is an ultraleft current characterized mainly by its workerism and sectarianism on the national, woman and student questions. Although this current has declined in influence in the past period it remains an important influence on Quebec campuses because of the labor leadership's opportunist support for the P.Q.

This current finds its major and most consistent expression in two Maoist formations, the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) and the Mouvement Revolutionnaire des Etudiants du Quebec (MREQ). There are also a number of Political Action Committees (CAPs) which are part of this current.

A number of other CAPs which are associated with FRAP (Political Action Front) in Montreal are going through an important process of political differentiation. FRAP was first formed as a municipal labor party supported by the trade unions but has become a loose formation of active individuals since the trade unions withdrew their support. They publish a monthly paper which comes out clearly for independent labor political action and the need for the Union

movement to launch a labor party. Our experience so far with their student militants at the University of Quebec indicates that some of them are open to Trotskyism although it is still too early to tell where FRAP is headed.

Many of our opponents who pose as "socialists"--CPQ(M-L), MREQ, the Canadian Party of Labor and the Worker's League-- have explicitly opposed concrete national struggles, such as the struggle for a French Quebec. By claiming that the democratic struggle for French language rights "divides the working class" and is "racist" they have disoriented a number of radicalizing students and given the mass of students a totally false impression of a genuine revolutionary Marxist position on the national rights of oppressed peoples. The LJS has been the only socialist youth group which has consistently defended, from a Marxist point of view, the struggle for a French Quebec against the attacks from the "left" and the right.

Although the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Quebec is small, both in numbers and influence, it is an important long-term opponent because of its political ties to the Soviet bureaucracy. Through their student members primarily established in student council positions at McGill and the University of Montreal, they have intervened in conferences of the FEQ, putting forward a narrow, unionist perspective limited to essentially student issues. They vigorously oppose proposals for a French Quebec, in particular the repeal of Bill 63 which they claim is just and democratic. Their crass reformism is displayed in the antiwar movement by their consistent opposition to the demands of immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces and no Canadian troops. They have opposed independent mass antiwar actions on the grounds that it might jeopardize the nine point settlement they want Nixon to sign.

Our most recent opponent on the left is the Revolutionary Marxist Group (GMR) which split from the LJS and LSO during the summer of1972 and thus walked out of the Fourth International. They are primarily active on campuses and they publish a monthly paper called "Red Mole." Through their paper, a few public meetings, public interventions in the antiwar movement and certain student struggles they have established themselves as a left tendency in the student movement with a certain influence. The GMR's positions are ultra-left and sectarian, characterized by their rejection of transitional demands. Their program on the national question and women's liberation is vague and undefined. In the antiwar movement they call for Victiory to the NLF as a main slogan and do not raise the question of Canadian complicity or Canadian troops.

Building the LJS

The opportunities for building the LJS are very good. The process of maturing of some militants in the student movement in this period will lead small numbers of them to seek a revolutionary organization. As well as recruiting these elements we can have a significant influence on a much broader layer of radicalizing youth by our propagandistic and agitational interventions in the student movement, thereby laying the basis for building the LJS as the revolutionary leadership of Quebec youth.

The LJS is still a small propaganda group in the Quebec student movement. But it has the program, revolutionary traditions and democratic-centralist organizational form that are essential to leading the youth of Quebec in the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. The growing crisis of capitalism and the continued deepening of the youth radicalization will create increasing opportunities for building the LJS.

We are a binational organization because the revolutionary youth of Quebec and English Canada must unite in building the vanguard party which is going to lead the sturggle to overthrow the Canadian bourgeoisie and its federal state. The coordination of work and application of YS/LJS policy in Quebec is carried out by the National Committee, composed of Executive Council members resident in Quebec.

At the center of all our work is the extension and development of our socialist propaganda, recruiting and developing cadre. As well the LJS can play an important role in the mass movements and extend its influence and connections. Since our last convention there have been several important openings for agitational work. The most important of these was the language campaign which we played a major role in initiating and leading. Through this campaign, which had a considerable impact on public opinion, spokespersons for the LJS and LSO were able to address over ten thousand students at mass meetings and teach-ins in five major Quebec cities (Montreal, Sorel, Trois Rivieres, Quebec City and Hull) and play a leading role in the Oct. 16 demonstation of 8,000 in Montreal. By using the opening that existed at that time we were able to effectively contrast our clear demands for a French Quebec and our strategy of independent mass action to the ambiguous program and bourgeois parliamentarism of the P.Q. Through this campaign we were able to recruit a small number of militants.

During the May strike we put forward the positions of the LJS on the worker's struggle and the 82 day norm through our press and leaflets, but we did not fully seize the opportunities open to us in the student milieu. In May, when the workers were mobilized around their economic and political demands, students remained the most open, the most responsive and the most touched by the present radicalization. We can learn from the recruitment of two students during the worker's upsurge, while our main orientation was in fact to the workers, that our concrete influence and recruitment would have been even better had we more consistently put forward the need to organize student support committees prior to the April strike and concentrated more on our intervention in the campus mobilizations against the 82 day norm.

Most recently we have made an important intervention in the FEQ and the struggle against the New Pedagogic Regime. The formation and development of the FEQ around the concrete struggles of students, providing much-needed co-ordination and national strategy, has been very positive. While the leadership of this organization is not revolutionary and is subject to all the the lack of stability and weakness that this involves, it provides us with the opportunity to put forward our transitional program for students, our mass oriented strategy and the need for the LJS.

Through the FEQ we have made connections with student militants across Quebec and opened new possibilities for recruiting. As well we have been able to become much more familiar with both the problems and the possibilities of the student movement. We must continue, where openings develop, to intevene in the mass struggles both to advance them and to put forward the ideas of the LJS.

In the next period the LJS must continue the process, already well on the road, of moving onto the campuses. We must use campus facilities and newspapers to put forward our ideas, build all our campaigns on the campus, increase campus sales of Liberation and make our student orientation the central part of all the activities of the LJS.

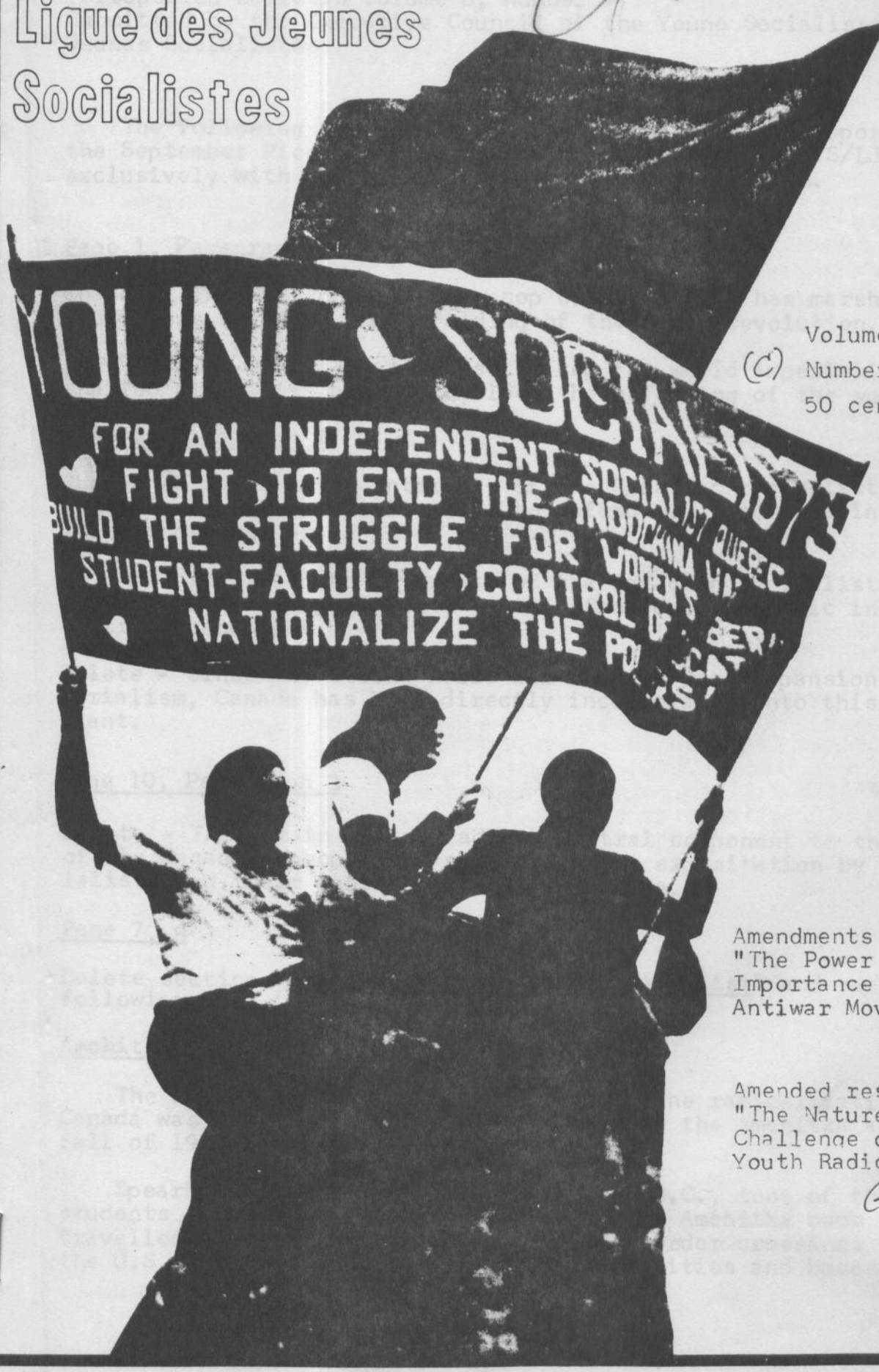
An important aspect of our work that we must cintinue to develop is our intervention on the English-language campuses and schools. By extending and promoting the circulation of Young Socialist and Labor Challenge we can build support among English students for the national liberation struggle and build the English section of the LJS.

We must note here the effects of the decision by the LJS/LSO to temporarily halt the publication of the LJS paper Jeune Garde which we projected in the 1970 Quebec document to be an "important tool" in the task of bringing "students who have already demonstrated their discontent with the present system of oppression, to a revolutionary consciousness and action." While it was a necessary step given the thinness of our forces, and while the launching of Liberation was an important step forward, this also affected the development of the independent youth movement in Quebec. While the relaunching of Jeune Garde is not yet on the agenda we must increase and improve the student and youth articles in Liberation and involve more LJS comrades in this process.

Our goal is to spread the revolutionary ideas and perspective of the LJS/YS to the radicalizing youth of Quebec. We are a relatively new movement in Quebec, with a limited experience in the nationalist and student movements. But we have something going for us which no other tendency on the Quebec left shares: our program and strategy are based on 150 years of continuous experiences of the international struggle for socialism, as represented by Marx, Engles, Lenin and Trotsky and by our links, through the LSO/LSA, to the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. The correct application of these experiences of our co-thinkers throughout the world and throughout history is the way forward to the solution of the crisis of leadership in the Quebec student movement and to an independent and socialist Quebec.

Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972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FIGHT TO END THE INDOCHINA WAR
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Amendments to "The Power and Importance of the Antiwar Movement" (SEE Vol. 8 No. 4)

Amended resolution on "The Nature and Challenge of the Youth Radicalization" (SEE Vol. 8 No 1)

A CRITIQUE OF THE RCT* "COUNTER POLITICAL REPORT"
**RCT: Revolutionary Communist Tendency -- minority caucus.)*

by Don T.
From YS/LJS Discussion Bulletin Vol. 8 No. 15, 1972

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INTRODUCTION

The "Counter Political Report of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency" (Discussion Bulletin Volume 8, Number 8) puts forward no counter line or set of proposals which could provide a basis for building the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the revolutionary struggle. Instead it is a collection of truisms, half-truths, falsifications, valuable criticisms and unfounded slanders. Although the document centers on a series of blanket statements which are not backed with any argumentation, it has raised a number of points which are valuable to the discussion and the process of political clarification we are presently in.

These can be examined through three central categories: 1. The Nature of the radicalization; 2. Students and the Student Movement; 3. Transitional Approach.

I. THE NATURE OF THE RADICALIZATION

The RCT disputes the approach of the YS/LJS to the current radicalization, arguing that the YS/LJS is "sectoralist" and "capitulationist," "to every strain of petit-bourgeois mentality that manifests itself". They argue that we see the revolution as an "assemblage of sectors" and point out that the Canadian revolution will be made and led by the working class. To them, the task facing us with regards to the womens', student and Québécois, etc., movements is to combat "economism" in these movements and to "broaden their political perspective," while at the same time working to gain "an implantation in the working class". There are several points to be raised here:

1. The Working Class

To imply that the YS/LJS does not agree with the Marxist position on the role of the working class In the struggle for socialism, does little to take the discussion forward. Our movement was born in a struggle against the New Left on this very question. We are a Marxist movement, participating in a class struggle, in which there are two main classes whose interests are irreconcilably opposed -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The revolution is a process whereby the proletariat seizes the power of the state and wields it in its own interests. This has always been our position and we have never said anything to contradict this.

On the other hand, we do not have a workerist, romantic concept that a revolutionary upsurge is simply a bunch of workers with wrenches in hand, taking over their factories and storming parliament hill. During a period of working class upsurge, every oppressed layer stands up and marches forward with its own demands. All the oppressed are able to feel the power of masses in motion, to see the possibility for change. For example, in the May-June '68 upsurge in France, the most diverse layers, including such groups such as the students who wanted fundamental change in their Jewish College, entered the struggle in their own names.

Furthermore, we have explained that the socialist revolution in Canada will be a **combined** revolution, in that it combines the national-democratic tasks of the struggles of oppressed nationalities with the tasks of the socialist revolution. This does not somehow mean the combining of different "sectors", groups, or layers, but the combininq of the **tasks** of two historical periods. The coming revolution combines the struggle for self-determination of the Québécois, natives, Acadians, etc., with the overall struggle of the working class for power.

2. Social Movements

What is true for a revolutionary upsurge is also true throughout the course of the revolutionary process. The class struggle is not simply workers on a picket line (as the RCT seems to think) but is something which takes many **forms**, and which is deeply affected by many **interlocking** and **related** struggles.

The process of radicalization whereby the working class comes to see the necessity of social revolution is very complex and uneven. Different layers and sections of the working class in which the contradictions of capitalism are sharpest are first to radicalize. In Canada it has been Québécois, students and women, natives, gays, Acadians who have first come into political action in their own names.

What we have stated throughout this discussion is that these movements have an **independent dynamic** and an **anticapitalist role** to play in the revolutionary process. This is because: 1. their overall demands cannot be met within the framework of capitalist society; 2. they are capable of mobilizing large numbers of people in struggle against the capitalist state in which they can come to broader conclusions about the nature of this society and the necessity for fundamental change; 3. they have an impact on the politicization of other layers of society, most notably on the working class as a whole.

This means that these social movements (and others yet to arise) have an important role to play in making a revolution in Canada, **in and of themselves.** Ernest Mandel describes this in a recent (and excellent) article on the student movement which concludes: "Thus the student movement has a profoundly anti-capitalist dynamic, even if only a small student vanguard presently understands this and is consciously trying to link it up with the workers movement and the working class." (*Intercontinental Press[SWP-US]*, Nov. 27/72.)

The RCT has never stated its agreement with this basic concept. In fact, all their contributions go in the direction of arguing that the various movements are "neutral" -- that they only take on value if the vanguard intervenes to "broaden their perspective" or to explain the necessity of socialism. It is a concept of a neutral movement with "correct and bad aspects" which must be "pointed out". While we certainly agree on the necessity of socialist propaganda, of "broadening the perspective", and of polemicizing with the bad aspects of a given movement, we disagree with the essence of the RCT position.

The conclusions from these two positions as to what are the tasks of the YS/LJS are very important. The YS/LJS presently holds that because these movements are important, in and of themselves, we should build them and work to see that they most accurately follow their progressive courses. The RCT on the other hand has never stated this. It appears that their concept is that we should simply stand on the sidelines injecting propaganda, point out "good aspects" and absolving ourselves of "bad aspects".

There are several more points here: first, all this concern about the "bad aspects" of the women's liberation, student, Québécois nationalist, movements is really unfounded and betrays a problem with the RCT methodology. It is one thing to be concerned that some women in the women's liberation movement are anti-Marxists, or that some Québécois nationalists dislike all Canadians, etc., and to advocate that we polemicize against this type of thing. But is is another thing to base a political assessment of these movements on the **thinking** of some of their members.

Mandel in a March, 1971 debate with Maxime Rodinson discussed the question of people in the Arab movement who have racist ideas. He explained how Marxists, when assessing a given struggle or movement, have to assess its **objective dynamic** and not simply look at the ideas of any people involved. He goes on to say:

"I give primacy.to social reality, to material existence and not to ideas. These ideas can only be changed by first changing the social reality. To change this reality one can never wait first for ideas to be changed. Moreover, the struggle to transform this reality is, in the last analysis, the only effective way to transform ideas." (*ISR [International Socialist Review-US-SWP] --ed.],* March, 1972)

While the RCT chokes on the **ideas** of some of the participants of various social movements, it overlooks the essence of the question -- their objective dynamic and political role in the revolutionary process.

Secondly, on the question of propaganda. It is one thing to suggest we should increase our propagandistic activities (a point I would agree with). But it would appear that what is being argued is much more -- that we should reduce our activity **solely,** to progaganda work and reject participation in these movements from the point of view of building them.

Finally, it seems that it is, in fact, the RCT who has a "sectoral" view, for it fails to see that students, women, and Québécois are not separate "sectors", but part of an interlocking whole. Different layers of the oppressed are not "peripheral" to the working class, but overlap with it. Women struggling against their oppression as women are not a separate sector -- somehow apart from the working class -- but a form of the class struggle and the process whereby the working class as a whole is politicizing. *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

3. Economism

The RCT argues that we must combat economism in the student, womens etc., movements.

It is not semantic quibbling to note that a very scientific term --economism (the approach to workers struggles which seeks to restrict them to the economic, especially trade union level) is being misused. The term cannot be applied correctly to movements which are already political in nature, like the student or womens' liberation movement. These movements cannot be somehow taken past the economic plane to include political questions, because they are, by and large, political to begin with. They are aimed at the capitalist state and immediately raise political questions.

Lenin polemicized against the economists arguing precisely that questions like national oppression, womens' oppression and the plight of other layers like students and even the petit-bourgeoisie should be aggressively taken into the workers movement. If the RCT were really serious about combatting economism, they would be stressing the importance of taking, say, the language struggle in Quebec, the abortion struggle, or the antiwar movement into the workers movement, instead of doing the opposite.

But this aside, the criticism that the YS/LJS tends towards economism is off base. We **do** work to "broaden the political perspective" of these movements. This is done in a number of ways from the sale of our press, to women's contingents in antiwar demonstrations. We work to win the labor party in Canada to support these struggles, and vice versa. Also we take these activities into the trade unions where we have comrades.

As well, the problem with the various current social movements in Canada -- especially the student movement -- is not that they have failed to mobilize around the big political questions of the day, or to reach out to the working class as a whole for aid, but that they have not understood **their own** potential and power. Lack of confidence in their own power as an independent political force has led many student, women, and Québécois militants from independent mass action: and workerism has siphoned off whole layers of the best of these militants from the important struggles they were part of.

4. Implantation in the Working Class

The document argues that ". . . it is so crucial for the revolutionary vanguard to gain at least an initial implantation in the working class now, lest we find ourselves unattractive not only to workers but to militants in other sectors as well."

This statement poses another series of problems with the RCT's position. First it is not true that our attractivity to students will be determined by our forces in the unions. The Communist Party has relatively large numbers of trade union members, but they still have great difficulty in winning radicalizing youth. While having trade union comrades can only act to our advantage, our attractivity is based essentially on our program, analysis and actions.

Also the priorities for a small revolutionary organization in its immediate tactical intervention are **not** determined by what social force is going to make the revolution. We have decided that we can make the biggest gains -- in terms of bringing radicalizing youth into the vanquard, by concentrating on the area of the most intense radicalization -- that is the student milieu. **Our student orientation doesn't violate an orientation to the working class; it facilitates it.** This is how the YS/LJS best aids the vanguard in becoming implanted in the working class, by being where youth are radicalizing, recruiting them and training them in Trotskyism.

The other side of how a small party can best recruit workers is that it must be in the thick of the most advanced, political struggles of the working class at any conjuncture. Concretely that means being in the NDP, the nationalist movement in Quebec, the womens' movement, etc. Our road to the working class at this time is through those who are most deeply affected by the radicalization. As well, of course, non-student comrades are encouraged to get a job and join a trade union if possible.

The RCT document simply states that we should get an implantation in the working class. (I think we should make the revolution also.) Does this mean we should pull student comrades off campuses and schools to get jobs? Does it mean we should concentrate our work on picket lines as some workerist tendencies do? No **strategy** of how this "implantation" can actually be attained has been counterposed to the **strategy** of the YS/LJS.

II. STUDENTS AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

1. Heterogeneity and the Student Revolt

The RCT says the YS/LJS holds that the student milieu is homogeneous.

This is false. We have never said that students, in any way, form a homogeneous social layer. Students come from various class backgrounds and have different class destinies. As well (like any other social layer, including the working class) students are heterogeneous in that they are divided by race, nationality, religion, etc.

But to say that the student population is heterogeneous and leave it at that, is inadequate. We have argued that due to the fact that intellectual labor is becoming a more and more important productive force in society, the ruling class has significantly expanded the educational system to train the future workers they require. As a result the nature of higher education and the student population has changed in several important ways.

One is that the universities now clearly reflect the contradictions which have generated the class struggle. As Mandel recently put it:

"Fundamentally what is happening is the transformation of the 'classic' 'liberal' university -- the university standing apart from society and social conflict, educating the 'elite', the 'great administrators' of capitalist society -- into a **technocratic** university, integrated into modern industrial society, tied by a thousand threads and at all levels to major industry." (*IP*, Nov. 27/72, emphasis in the original).

The university has become an authoritarian, technocratic, **class** institution to apprentice intellectual laborers.

Another change has been that the majority of students now come from working class backgrounds and have destinies in the work force. This has meant that the student population is more in touch with workers of their own generation, and with the working class and the big social problems of the day as a whole.

(It should be noted here that the process of the proletarianization of intellectual labor does not mean that students are somehow becoming workers, as the RCT document seems to hold. The document argues that we can't yet "identify students with the working class" because "this process is still embryonic and is unrealizable under capitalist society." On the contrary, the proletarization of intellectual labor simply means that humanity's intellectual capacities are

becoming a more important productive force in society. It has nothing to do with the student milieu somehow becoming part of the working class. The only way students can become workers is by getting a job -- by selling their labor power.)

The ruling class obviously has important interests in keeping their educational institutions as class institutions. They have an interest in seeing that the universities continue to propagate bourgeois ideology -- that is to distort and mystify the truth in order to prevent students from acquiring an accurate perception of the reality of capitalist society. They have an interest in seeing that students do not control the educational process, that students pay a considerable (at this conjuncture increasing) share of the cost of education; that students do not have complete freedom to think politically and so on. These interests clearly run counter to those of students and have provided an important factor behind the student revolt. (Here, the RCT document is confused. On the one hand it admits that students do have common interests when arguing that CUS *(Canadian Union of Sudents)* "rarely undertook any kind of militant defence of the interests of students". But on the other hand.the document denies that students have any objective interests in common.)

So, although students form a heterogeneous social layer, they also form a weighty layer, positioned in class institutions and more in tune with the problems of society as a whole. The combination of these changes within the schools and universities and the rise of the world -- especially colonial -- revolution, have interacted to produce the phenomenon of the student revolt.

The RCT document correctly criticizes a weakness in the unamended Political Resolution (a weakness which was corrected in the Political Report given prior to the RCT Counter-report at the September Plenum) arguing that the themes around which the student movement finds its basis are the broad national and international questions of the day. But the document goes on to take this to the extreme -- stating that: ". . .the conditions for the eruption of such struggles are **entirely** contingent on factors external to the campus. . ." (p. 2, emphasis added). The document does not explain how, flowing from this analysis, actions like the U[niversity] of T[oronto] parity struggle, the Memorial [U.] struggle in defense of a student union, the Regina occupations which demanded the rehiring of several professors, could have possibly taken place. Certainly this would be a difficult task for those who feel uncomfortable about admitting that students have interests opposed to those of the ruling class. The fact is, that the **dominant** factors behind the student revolt have been broad national and international questions like Vietnam or the oppression of the Québécois. Struggles against aspects of the bourgeois university are not **entirely contingent**, but related to, and affected by these questions. This is apparent in actions such as those against war research, for day-care facilities or for French as the languaqe of study. "More strictly student" struggles are also related, in that the revolt against the war in Vietnam, etc., have sensitized students to the repressive anti-human nature of the class institutions in which they are situated.

2. Is There a Student Movement in Canada?

The RCT says "NO, if there ever was." It seems that the international student movement which has exploded across the world missed Canada.

Let's go back to Jim Upton's criteria for a "movement" (which the RCT accepts), that is: "the capacity for independent mass mobilizations and struggle" and the existence of " . . . ongoing organizations, co-ordination and structures." Certainly Canadian students have shown the capacity to mobilize and struggle. Although there have not been large numbers of sustained struggles, and only "a very small percentage of the English student population" has

been mobilized at one time, there have been ongoing political activities and struggles among students across Canada for over six years. Look at a campus like U. of T. where there have been major student struggles since the early days of the current radicalization. In 1972, there was the Library struggle; in '71 it was the parity occupations and Amchitka; in '70 the day-care occupation; before that the Dow sit-ins, Selma and others; since '66 the antiwar movement (which was largely composed of students) held actions of "up to 10,000 along with smaller actions of oppressed nationalities, women and ongoing activities which ranged from mass meetings for revolutionary speakers to the daily (literature) tables of the various left tendencies. The total of these constitute the activities of the Canadian student movement at U. of T.

As to the question of "ongoing structures", it is not correct to see students' councils as simply "service" organizations. Do "service organizations" take positions on cutbacks in education (as nearly every students' council in Canada has recently done)? Do "service" organizations take positions on the imperialist war in Vietnam? Do they call and organize student strikes, as the FEQ *(Fédération des étudiant[es] de Québec)* is presently doing? Do they pay thousands of dollars for speakers like Ernest Mandel, Sean Kenny, Michel Chartrand and Evelyn Reed? Do they spend thousands of dollars on campus papers that carry articles by women's liberationists, black nationalists, Trotskyists, printing special supplements on Ireland, Vietnam, the Dare strike, etc.? Although these students' councils are reformist bodies, they can constitute, in a complex way, one of the various organizations of the student movement. As well there'are numerous other types of structures in the Canadian student movement, including women's liberation groups, black student organizations, cutbacks committes, or the YS/LJS. Some of these are short-lived, others more lasting.

Certainly the student movement in English Canada has been less explosive than in Quebec, or in some European countries. And it is by no means a mass movement (like the labor movement) although it takes mass forms at times. But nevertheless it exists. The RCT claim that it does not, again tends to deprecate the role of students in the revolutionary process in Canada, and imply that we should orient more to workers.

3. The Three Decker Concept

The RCT distinguishes "at least three layers" in the student milieu: the mass of "basically non-political and non-mobilizable" students, the "potentially mobilizable elements" and the "semi-mobilized student layer, radical students not belonging to any revolutionary tendency". Presumably a fourth layer is comprised of the various left tendencies. The RCT concludes that we should orient to decker 3.

A problem with this conception is that it is an abstraction which does not correspond to the real world. It is a formal, mechanistic, schema which leads to formal, mechanistic conclusions. Depending on the conjuncture, **the broad masses of students,** or **virtually no students** are "mobilizable". *(In reality: --ed.)* the numbers who will enter political action varies completely; there are no static, "semi-mobilized", "potentially mobilizable" and "non-mobilizable" deckers.

And who is this third layer that we should orient to? In this **one** document it is described as "semi-mobilized", "those who have already begun to develop an analysis of the role of the bourgeois university", "the advanced layer", "those most concerned and alienated with the way the university is structured. . ." etc. Other definitions such as "those who understand the Marxist theory of the state", and "those who can be won to a revolutionary party" have been advanced. The source of this confusion is apparent. How can you orient to some static student layer, when students and their political consciousness are in constant change?

We want to spend our time with students coming into, and engaging in political action -- who are questioning fundamental aspects of this society and looking for answers, and who are open to Trotskyist solutions. We do this through our agitation and work in united fronts, and through our socialist propaganda activities. We don't attempt to a priori define some advanced layer to orient to: **the advanced elements are those who come into action and who respond to our propaganda efforts.** This may be masses of students, or relatively few students, depending on the situation.

4. Student Unions

"We must consistently struggle against the demand for new provincial or national student unions." (p.3) Why is this? Two hints are given:

1. They have played a "treacherous and diversionary role" in the past.
2. Unlike a trade union, the basis for student unions doesn't exist.

On the first point, we must differentiate between **student unions** per se and **their leadership** at any Given conjuncture. We don't reject trade unions because their leadership may have played a "treacherous" role in many labor struggles. Similarly, we shouldn't reject student unions on the basis that student reformists have used them to the detriment of the struggle. Also, student unions **have been valuable** in building the student movement. UGEQ *(the broad student union at this time in Quebec)* , CUS *(then the principal student union in English Canada),* the Trent Student Union, the FEQ *(another Québécois student federation*) are clear examples.

On the second point, of course student unions are different from trade unions. But that is not to say that the basis for student unions doesn' exist. If there is no basis for their existence why do they continually spring up, participate in and often lead student struggles on an international scale?

While student unions are not directly analagous to trade unions, there is still a basis for their existence, and they still can have a valuable role to play. **Their role is not contingent on their nature, but on their leadership**. They are not panaceas, but they can be instruments to build the student movement. In fact, even with bad leadership, student unions can advance the struggle (as the actions during the height of CUS and UGEO show).

In some countries, the student movement and its strength **are based** on student unions. In Britain, fox example, a main area of activity for student comrades in the IMG has been in the Liaison Committee to Defend Student Unions. The Tory government attacks on the unions has generated a significant response, opening up considerable possibilities for our movement.

The YS/LJS does not campaign for the establishment of student unions, as some other tendencies like the CP *(Stalinist Communist Party of Canada --ed.)* do, but we support the idea of students organizing against the capitalist state, and we see the potential of cross-province and national student unions to build and coordinate student struggles. When student unions are being organized we should be there to fight to win them to mass action and a program of militant struggle. And when these unions are being attacked by the ruling class (who understand their potential, even if the RCT doesn't) we should be prepared to defend them.

III. THE TRANSITIONAL APPROACH

1. How Consciousness Develops

According to the RCT, the leadership has an objectivist approach to consciousness. Apparently we hold that the masses will spontaneously develop revolutionary consciousness through their own struggles around their immediate needs, and we see the task of the vanguard as purely administrative.

This, is false. Our position is that of Lenin and Trotsky (as opposed to the RCT's, or the position which the RCT ascribes to us) that the masses develop political consciousness through *a combination* of their own action and the educational Intervention of the revolutionary vanguard. The difference here is that we hold that people can come to initial conclusions about the nature of capitalist society and the necessity for fundamental change through their own experience in struggle. This doesn't mean that they will spontaneously become Marxists, but that in struggle they can begin to make initial generalizations and become open to Marxist ideas. To deny this is to reject the whole basis behind the Transitional Program. If the masses do not learn through their own struggle, why have a program which is designed precisely to take that process forward? If the masses learn only through the propaganda activities of the vanguard, then why participate in united fronts? Why have a strategy based on mass action? *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

Several other points here: first, a key task of the vanguard particularly in this period when the radicalization is still in its infancy, is to help the masses mobilize in their own name, to understand the importance of mass action, and to gain confidence in their ability, to affect the course of events. That is why our work in the womens' liberation movement, for example, is so important. Our efforts to crystalize the sentiment against women's oppression into a mass struggle movement directed against the capitalist state, are very valuable in advancing this process.

Second, the implicit contention that the masses learn solely, or essentially, through the propaganda work of a vanguard is discredited by the great leaps of consciousness which occur during mass upsurges. Of course, the intervention of the vanguard advances this process, and given the depth of the crisis and the strength of the vanguard, lead it to the seizure of power. But the process still exists. For example, in May-June 1968 in France, the French working class made great leaps in consciousness. They got a feeling of their power, of the importance of mass action, of the brutality of the state. Many even came to conclusions about the leadership of the Communist Party after watching them march at the end of the demonstrations and sit on the struggle at every opportunity. This politicization was advanced by the intervention of revolutionary groups -- especially the JCR *(Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, the French Trotskyist youth --ed.)* -- as indicated by the fact that the most conscious elements in the upsurge were brought into the *(Trotskyist)* Fourth International. But the process of masses learning through their own experience i n struggle is undeniable.

Third, the RCT's contention that the YS/LJS does not "differentiate itself" in various struggles is false. In any political activity we intervene in our own name, with our revolutionary-socialist propaganda. Often we have to fight for the right to do this. In most campus struggles, this is one of the first fights we conduct -- to be able to set up a lit*(literature)*-table, hang up our banners, sell our press, etc. There is an important difference between saying we identify with a struggle or movement, and *(saying)* that we "identify totally and uncritically". For example, we understand the anti-capitalist dynamic of the women's liberation movement, but when it takes a wrong turn (e.g., Women for Political Action) we polemicize firmly to set it straight. Giving political leadership is not simply intervening in a struggle or movement with revolutionary

socialist propaganda. It also includes our efforts to keep the actions of the masses on an anti-capitalist course to win struggles to the correct demands, to a mass action perspective, and so on. The RCT is correct to point out that we see our role in the Amchitka *(U.S. anti-nuclear bomb test --ed.)* upsurge as one of leadership. **We intervened to explain how this blast was another indication of the necessity for a new society, *and also* to win the struggle to *(for)* slogans and demands which brought out the Vietnam war and Canada's complicity in the US war machine, and to win widest support for mass actions against the blast. To fail to do one or the other would have been to abandon our leadership role.**

Finally, the YS/LJS leadership has been accused of objectivism. However we have explained that the masses learn through a combination of their actions and the conscious intervention of the vanauard. As a result we need a **balanced** approach to the question of propaganda and agitation. Our emphasis on one or the other should reflect the conjuncture. But to date the RCT has implied down the line that the propaganda work of the vanguard is everything -- that the only way the masses learn is through our propagandists intervention. This is clearly a **subjectivist approach to consciousness**: that is, the subjective factor is considered all, the objective conditions are relatively insignificant. This subjectivism pervades the methodology of the RCT and has important strategical ramifications.

2. The RCT Revises the Transitional Program

Their document claims that the YS/LJS formulates a program on the basis of the present level of consciousness of the masses and not on objective needs.

This is incorrect. And once again it is not accompanied by any argumentation. Our program "includes a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion -- the conquest of power by the proletariat" (*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the tasks of the Fourth International*, p. 7).

The demands of our program **all** meet the objective needs of the masses, whether they be "repeal of all anti-abortion laws", "30 for 40" *(30 hours work for 40 hours pay -- the shorter work-week)*, or the "dictatorship of the proletariat". But it's not enough to choose demands for a given struggle on the basis of "what are the objective needs of the masses". For example, we can't argue that every women's struggle should adopt our full program for women's liberation and socialism (which constitutes the objective needs of women). In formulating demands and sets of demands for different struggles we also take into account "today's conditions" and "today's consciousness of wide layers", in order that we can build a programatic bridge between the present level of understanding of people, and the realization of the necessity of social revolution. In other words, we take into account what can best build a given struggle, enable it to reach out to large numbers of people and involve them in struggle independent of the ruling class and its institutions.

But what is the RCT's position? Certainly they couldn't be advocating a "Maximum program" where we argue the adoption of **all our demands** for every struggle or movement. And it would, of course, be an error to advocate some concept that we should only put forward demands that cannot be met within the framework of capitalist society. (Several demands of the original Transitional Program of 1938 have been realized under capitalism.) So what is the RCT so upset about?

It is at this point that the **real** debate appears, not in the abstract references to Trotsky's writings (which everyone agrees on). The YS/LJS holds that our program is a program for the class struggle. The RCT holds that it is a program for the education of some "advanced layers". This is the essence of the difference.

For example, in the antiwar movement, the YS/LJS has put forward the demands "Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity" because they:

1. best meet the needs of the Vietnamese revolution by mobilizing the largest number of people in defense of their right to self-determination;

2. they best build the class struggle in Canada because they best serve as a bridge to take the largest number of people, through struggle, from their present level of consciousness towards an understanding of the necessity for socialism.

The RCT, on the other hand, advances "Victory to the NLF" because it will somehow be attractive to the vanguard. In doing so they are making a fundamental revision of the Transitional Program.

Our program is not designed *FOR* the vanguard; it is a program *OF* the vanguard. It is designed *FOR* the masses. And that is what any advanced element worth their salt will want to hear. By arguing that we should put forward demands on the basis of what will be attractive to the left, the RCT is rejecting the concept of a programmatic bridge between the objective and subjective conditions. To them demands sre not used as the basis of struggle, but as propaganda. *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

The corollaries which flow out of this revision are truly remarkable, For example, the concept that demands (not political struggle) somehow educate -- conclusion being that we should escalate our demands to make them more educational. Or the concept "we can't build a mass movement so we should put forward more radical sounding demands which will relate to the vanguard." Its like a sliding scale of demands -- the more quiescent the masses, the more we escalate our demands. During a period of fascism we certainly would have militant demands.

This is one of the most important questions of the present debate. The Political Report to the September Plenum looked at three key aspects of this and challenged those who would revise our transitional approach. We have yet to hear a response.

3. Defensive Formulations

The RCT claims that the YS/LJS leadership "views revolutionary violence as repugnant, and hides behind legalism and legitimacy, even when previewing the working class struggle for power." It is unclear what this statement means. However, the implication is that: 1. we should encourage, or at least not criticize, acts of "revolutionary violence" at this time; 2. we should not use existing laws or legal forms in order to further the class struggle. Behind this statement lies a lack of understandinq of the crucial importance of posing ourselves and work in a clearly defensive manner.

The early 1940s debate between Grandizo Munis and James P. Cannon *(veteran American Trotskyist leader --ed.)* is a classic on the subject, (reprinted under the title *What Policy for Revolutionists - Marxism or Ultraleftism?)* In it Cannon explains:

". . . defensive formulations are an indispensable medium for teaching the masses, who will not be convinced by theory but by their own experience and propaganda related thereto. This experience of the masses proceeds in the main along the line of defensive actions. That is why defensive formulations are most easily comprehensible and represent the best approach of the revolutionary Marxists to the masses. Finally, it is a tactical and legal consideration of no small importance in a bourgeois-democratic country that defensive formulas partially disarm the class

enemy: or in any case, make their attacks more difficult and costly. What *(Why)* should such advantages be thrown away?" (p. 59)

He goes on to show how the 1917 Russian Revolution was organized and carried through to victory on defensively posed slogans and formulations, using "soviet legality" and "legal coverings" to advance the struggle. He guotes extensively from Trotsky's historic work *The History of the Russian Revolution* to make the case:

"Although an insurrection can win on the offensive, it develops better, the more it looks like self-defense. A piece of official sealing-wax on the door of the Bolshevik editorial rooms -- as a military measure that is not much. But what a superb signal for battle!" (Volume 3, pp. 207-8)

Again:

"The attacking side is always interested in seeming on the defensive. A revolutionary party is always interested in legal coverings." (Vol. 3, p. 279)

Even the insurrection was justified in a defensive way.

"The Sailor Kurkov has remembered: 'We got the word from Trotsky to broadcast ... that the counter-revolution had taken the offensive.' Here too the defensive formulation concealed a summons to insurrection addressed to the whole country." (Vol. 3, p. 208)

On October 23, the day before the insurrection, a conference of the Red Guard in Petrograd was called. The resolution adopted at it, writes Trotsky:

"...defined the Red Guard as 'an organization of the armed forces of the proletariat for the struggle aqainst the counter-revolution.' Observe this: that twenty-fours before the insurrection the task was still defined in terms of defense and not attack." (Vol. 3, p.188)

On the day of the insurrection Trotsky continued to hammer the point home:

"To assure the publication of the Bolshevik press with the help of armed forces, or to retain the Aurora in the waters of the Neva -- 'Comrades is that not self-defense? It is defense! If the Government intends to arrest us, we have machine guns on the roof of Smolny in preparation for such an event.' That also comrades is a measure of defense." (Vol. 3, p. 212)

For the period of two weeks leading to the insurrection the Bolsheviks clung to their defensive formulations, stressing the "legality" of their struggle:

"During this whole period hundreds of thousands of workers and soldiers took direct action, defensive in form, but aggressive in essence. The final stage, when the insurrectionaries at last threw off the qualifications of the dual power with its dubious legality and defensive phraseology, occupied exactly twenty-four hours: from 2 o'clock on the night of the 25th to 2 o'clock on the night of the 26th." (Vol. 3, p. 294)

The importance of soviet legality "of which the masses were extremely jealous" was key: "Professor Pokrovsky denies the importance of the alternative -- Soviet or Party. Soldiers are no formalists, he laughs: they did not need a Congress of Soviets in order to overthrew Kerensky . . . The leading role of the Committee in the overturn did not in any sense violate that Soviet legality which the professor makes fun of but of which the masses were extremely jealous." (Vol. 3, p. 288)

The point is very clear. 'We know that the insurrection and the entire process of the class

struggle involves the violent upsurges of the oppressed. But, in our work we have to be careful to pose struggles in a defensive manner. Agitation and propaganda about the need for "revolutionary violence" is not in keeping with the Trotskyist approach to this question. When the oppressed commit acts of violence and come under attack by the ruling class, we explain that the real violence of this society is the violence of Capitalism.

Also it is important to differentiate between the spontaneous violence of the class struggle, and violence which comes from the incorrect strategy of various infantile left sects and tendencies. Actions such as the Red Morning "window smashings", or the FLQ kidnappings *(in Quebec, 1970)* are based on an incorrect program and strategy and severely harm the struggle for socialism, by aiding the ruling class in shifting the responsibility for violence to revolutionaries and change the relationship of class forces in their favor. Our responsibility as Trotskyists is to firmly criticize and expose such actions for what they are. Would the RCT have us applauding them?

As to the question of "legalism and legitimacy" it is unclear to what the RCT is referring. But certainly we're not afraid to utilize existing laws in a propagandistic way, if it advances the class struggle. For example, we demand our democratic right to present ideas -- sell our press, hold public meetings, etc. -- even though we know it is a bourgeois democracy we live under. This is in keeping with the traditions of the Marxist movement.

4. "The Western Guard Protest" - A Case in Point

This "protest" is raised by the RCT as the latest manifestation of the alleged capitulationism and revisionism of the YS/LJS leadership. What was this "protest" all about?

The Western Guard, a racist, ultra-right organization in Toronto, announced a public meeting for a "White Canada". This occurred simultaneously with the arrival of several members of the KKK in Canada. The Maoists (and several other ultra-lefts) called a "picket" to physically prevent the meeting from taking place (complete with rhetoric of "kill the Fascists") .:. The CP (and other reformists) called a demonstration for the same time and place to demand that the Canadian government ban fascists from 'Canada.' The Trotskyist movement met and assessed that the combined action was a dead-end proposition:

1. The Maoist action could only play into the hands of the ruling class. Getting into a fight over this tiny meeting would clearly be self-defeating, and, if anything, would change the relationship of forces in favor of the right.

2. The CP action did the same, by disarming the left to think that we can rely on the state to defend us from fascism. The left must rely on its own means to defend itself.

3. The premises behind both actions were: first, that we are in a period of reaction and fascism is an immediate force to be dealt with; and second, that fascism should not be dealt with **politically** but by the physical force of the left, or relying on the state.

As a result, we decided to have nothing to do with the "action" and instead held a public forum which presented the Trotskyist analysis on the origins of fascism and how to fight it. The forum was large and very valuable (despite efforts of the Western Guard to break it up). On the other hand, at the White Canada meeting our analysis was confirmed. There were about 30 people at the meeting (of whom 30 to 50 per cent were cops). Outside the meeting the Maoists charged the cops; a fight broke out and a number of the demonstrators were severely beaten by the cops. Over 20 of the total of 50 demonstrators were arrested and the newspapers read: "Maoists attack public meeting" and the like. The "protest" was a total disaster. Had the RCT's

position on the action been adopted, the Trotskyist movement would have been there in the thick of the disaster getting arrested and getting our heads beaten over a meeting of 15 to 20 right wingers.

The action was a qood example of the problems of a non-defensive, romantic, infantile approach to the class struggle. It demonstrated the immaturity of the Canadian left on the nature and oriqins of fascism and how to fight it. One ironic aspect is that the Western Guard has chosen the abortion question as its front line of assault and the abortion campaign is becoming an important test of forces between the left and right. The RCT seems willinq for a physical confrontation but is unwillinq to take the right on **politically** by building the abortion campaign.

Summary

So what is the picture we get of the RCT from their "Counter Political Report"?

It seems clear from this document that the RCT is a formation which has failed to assimilate some very basic aspects of Trotskyism. They have rejected fundamental concepts behind the Transitional Program: that is, l) a program is for the mass struggle, not for the education of the left; and 2) the purpose of the program is to act as a bridqe between the objective and subjective conditions. The RCT understands that the vanquard must become "implanted in the working class" but is incapable of counterposing any strategy on how this can be done. Instead of concerning themselves with the problems of reaching out to the masses of the oppressed, with a transitional and defensive approach, they are more concerned with "revolutionary violence" and busting up a tiny meeting of right-wingers.

The RCT has also failed to assimilate the Marxist method of analysing social phenomena, opting for a **schematism** and a **subjectivism** which approaches **idealism.** Their **schematic** approach is evident: clear examples being the "three decker" student milieu, the society divided into unrelated "sectors" and their failure to fathom the most simple aspects of the complex processes whereby the working class as a whole develops political consciousness.

The problem of **subjectivism** and the RCT's subjectivist view of how consciousness develops has already been mentioned. This problem is reflected generally in their method of analysing social phenomena. For example, the RCT continually refers to students as "petit-bourgeois". They have used two lines of argumentation to justify this. One is that students have petit-bourgeois thinking. This represents the analysis of a social layer not by objective criteria, such as the relationship to the means of production, but by its consciousness (by this logic the working class is petit-bourgeois). The second argument goes something like this: "The petite-bourgeoisie is heterogeneous; students are heterogeneous: therefore students are petit-bourgeois." That is like saying: "Transistors are small; canaries are small: therefore canaries are transistorized." The former argument is an example of the RCT's overemphasis on the subjective; the latter is simply poor logic.

All this leads in the direction of a methodoloqy which approaches idealism. To them, a social movement is defined not by its **objective** dynamic in the revolutionary process, but by the ideas of some of those involved. A social layer (students) is defined not by its relationship to the means of production, and other **objective** criteria, but by the ideas which students hold. People are said to radicalize not as the result of any **objective** processes, or through their own actions in struggle but solely through the implantation of ideas by the subjective factor -- the vanguard.

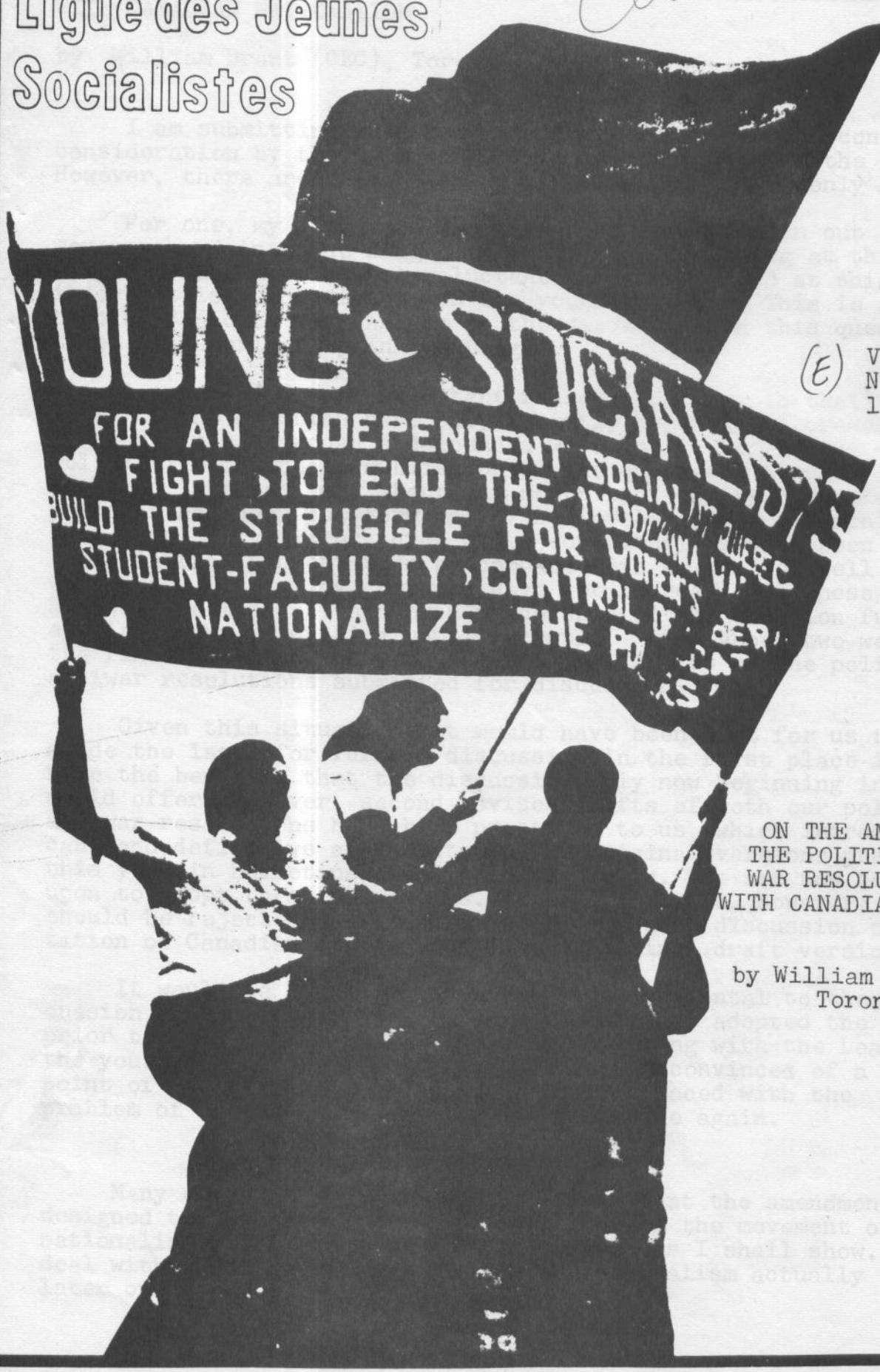
But despite these severe problems with the RCT's politics and methodology, they could have at least submitted a counter report which attempts to **prove** their case. What they have submitted

(although it is probably the most articulate and well-rounded presentation of their views to date) is an insult to our movement, in its failure to even attempt to explain or justify the arrogant charges made in it.

It is another indication that the comrades in the RCT have a long way to go, if they're going to make it a s revolutionary communists.

Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

Discussion Bulletin 1972



(E) VOLUME 8
NUMBER 17
15¢

ON THE AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL AND ANTI-WAR RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH CANADIAN NATIONALISM

by William Brant, (CEC),
Toronto Local

ON THE AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL AND ANTIWAR RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH CANADIAN NATIONALISM

by William Brant (CEC), Toronto Local

I am submitting this contribution directly to the convention for consideration by the delegates. I must apologize for the late date. However, there are reasons for my putting it forward only now.

For one, my direction for some time now has been out of the youth movement and into the League. I shall be graduating at this convention. This has made me somewhat reluctant to get involved at this time in any important issue of dispute in the youth movement. This is all the more true of Canadian nationalism as the discussion on this question has taken place primarily in the League.

A second and more important reason, however, is that the differing views on the question have only recently begun to be presented to the movement in a thorough and rounded way. Until the release of the LSA Political Committee's submission on the question, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism", about one month ago, no clearly worked-out position had been put forward on any levels of the movement. And since that time, only two or three other contributions have been made - a brief initial presentation by comrade Ross Dowson, as well as two others by comrade D.L. Many comrades have yet to read even these documents. Nor was the line of the youth leadership on the question fully articulated and laid down in writing until recently. Only about two weeks ago were the finalized amendments to the original drafts of the political and antiwar resolutions submitted for discussion.

Given this situation, it would have been best for us to have laid aside the issue for further discussion in the first place in order to have the benefits that the discussion only now beginning in the League would offer. However, second revised drafts of both our political and antiwar resolutions have been presented to us, which introduce significant and definitive amendments to the original versions presented earlier this year in Bulletins 1 and 4 respectively. We are now being called upon to adopt these amendments. It is my opinion, however, that they should be rejected and that we should continue discussion on the presentation of Canadian nationalism in the original draft versions.

It would be highly unfortunate and detrimental to the current discussion on this question if the youth movement adopted the amendments prior to full discussion on the question along with the League. I believe the youth comrades may well find themselves convinced of a different point of view later on and find themselves faced with the awkward problem of having to change the movement line again.

* * *

Many comrades are under the illusion that the amendments are merely designed to reassert the traditional line of the movement on Canadian nationalism. This is simply not the case, as I shall show. I shall deal with what the movement's line on nationalism actually is a little later on.

But to begin with, it is wrong to think that the amendments simply reject any support for "nationalism"; they go far beyond that, rejecting a whole series of concepts which the movement had hitherto adopted and held, both in the League and in the youth.

The alteration of these concepts - or more clearly, their omission in the final drafts - is probably not immediately evident to comrades. One has to perform a little detective work, combined with some subtle surgery, to discover what the real effect of the amendments is. One has to find the altered paragraphs in the final versions of the two resolutions and cut them out; track down those paragraphs in the original text which have been eliminated or altered; and tape in the final versions of the altered paragraphs over the original ones. Then one is prepared to read over and closely compare the two versions. The differences are most striking - and not merely for their rejection of "nationalism".

What are the key concepts and former positions of the movement that have been omitted from the final draft resolution and in effect rejected? Let us briefly outline them:

1. <u>The Domination of Canada and Its Economy by US Capital</u>

Paragraph 4 on page 2 of the <u>original</u> version of the Political Resolution reads: "The profound contradictions of capitalism which have generated the youth radicalization on a world scale are sharply reflected in Canada. The Canadian ruling class, the tiny handful of men who control almost all the wealth of this country, has willingly tied the entire economy to the needs of US imperialism bringing about <u>the domination of all aspects of Canadian life by the US</u>." (emphasis added)

What is there here to do with "Canadian nationalism"?

This paragraph has been replaced by the paragraph on page 5 of the amended version of the Political Resolution beginning: "Far from being the peaceful 'True North Strong and Free' . . ."

In the 2nd paragraph on page 6 of the original Political Resolution, the words, "imperialist domination and war" have been changed to read simply "imperialist war".

Finally, in case there is any further doubt as to the omission of the concept of US domination, there is the sentence in the 3rd paragraph on page 7 of the original Political Resolution which reads: "The revulsion of Canadian youth and the Canadian people with the horrors and ruthlessness of US imperialism and <u>its domination of every aspect of Canadian life</u> were at the roots of the massive spontaneous upsurge against the Amchitka blast." (emphasis added)

In the section of the amended Political Resolution dealing with the same subject, Amchitka, no mention is made of US domination, let alone of its having been the prime factor at the roots of the protest, as stated in the original.

Note that in none of the three amended paragraphs quoted was ther any mention of "Canadian nationalism".

2. Canada as a "Junior Partner" of US Imperialism

In the 2nd paragraph on page 2 of the antiwar resolution, the first sentence has the concept of junior partner of US imperialists changed to simply read "partner of US imperialists".

And again, in paragraph 3 on page 10 of the original antiwar resolution, the following sentence has been deleted: "The war in Vietnam adds a central component to the oppression of the Canadian people and epitomizes our exploitation by the US imperialists and their junior partners in Canada.

Once again, in neither of these two circumstances was there anything to do with "nationalism" as such.

3. The Anti-Imperialist Sentiment as a Key Factor Shaping the Radicalization of Canadian Youth

On page 3 of the original draft of the Political Resolution, the section entitled "The Oppression of Youth" begins with the following statement: "These fundamental contradictions of capitalism and imperialism have created the three factors shaping the radicalization in Canada - the anti-imperialist sentiment, the nationalism in Quebec, and feminism."

This entire section on youth oppression has now been amended. However, the new section, entitled "Origins of the Youth Radicalization", has removed anti-imperialist sentiment as a key radicalizing factor, and talks instead about students and the Vietnam war, in addition to Quebec nationalism and feminism which retain their prominence.

Yet one more time, there is nothing in the original versions here about "nationalism."

4. US Imperialism as Number One Imperialist and Counter-Revolutionary Power

In paragraph 5, on page 1 of the original draft political resolution, the following sentence has been deleted: "US imperialism is being exposed (by Vietnam - WB) as World Public Enemy Number One and the lines are drawn very clearly between genocide and destruction on the one hand and socialist revolution on the other."

Again, what has this deletion to do with "nationalism"?

5. Our Demands to End Americanization

Originally included on page 14 of the first draft of the Political Resolution, this section of our program has been deleted entirely in the second draft. It included demands like: "Break the universities and schools from the US war machine", "Teach the truth about Canadian history", "Student faculty-staff controlled Canadian studies departments", and "Open the resources of the university to struggles in the interests of the Canadian people".

While comrades may disagree with one or another of these demands, that is not the problem. What is dumped here is the issue of Americanization as part of our program. This clearly goes against the line adopted for instance

in the political resolution at our last convention.

Besides the alteration of these specific concepts of our movement, the analyses of the Amchitka upsurge in both the political and antiwar resolutions has been significantly and unjustly altered from that in the original drafts. Again, comrades can really only grasp the changes here by closely comparing the respective versions, paragraph by paragraph.

* * *

The Movement's Line on Canadian Nationalism

Returning to this question, the amendments are alleged to reaffirm the movement line. This is not so. Just as the amendments amount to a rejection of certain other established concepts, so they do likewise on the question of "nationalism" in Canada.

As it now stands, the amended Political Resolution does not simply oppose bourgeois nationalism, but nationalism per se in Canada. This was never the line of either the LSA or the YS as established in their convention resolutions.

The 1968 LSA resolution on Canada-US Relations is reputed to have opposed Canadian nationalism all down the line. But what did it actually say? Here are a few revealing quotations from that document:

"The term (Canadian nationalism) is a misnomer, causing confusion rather than giving insight into this phenomenon, its dynamics and direction. More correctly, it should be designated as a elemental anti-imperialist sentiment - developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness. It is by its being essentially anti-imperialist that it finds no basis of support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen, who defend US imperialism, not only out of a natural affinity, but with a clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the U.S. ruling class." (page 8, emphasis added)

"This anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment is an important fact of Canadian political and social life. To accept or pin the label nationalist on it is to not only incorrectly designate it. It leads to a dismissal, if not an opposition to it. On the contrary, we must recognize it for its essentially radical character and develop it." (page 10)

"Nationalism in advanced capitalist countries such as Canada has traditionally been a tool of the ruling class. In 1939 the banner of national unity was raised in order to gear the nation, specifically the working class, to sacrifice their lives in an imperialist world war. It is now being raised to mobilize English speaking Canada against the legitimiate struggle of the Quebecois for their national rights. This bourgeois nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society - in particular the development of class consciousness amongst the workers, and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them.

"What in common with this, has the phenomenon which we can see developing across the country over the question of Canada-US relations?

"Far from promoting this "nationalism" the Canadian ruling class their parties and their spokesmen, stand firmly united against it . . ." (emphasis added, page 9)

"This brand of "nationalism" far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes against the bourgeoisie. It is discrediting the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie as not representing any interest that could be said to be Canadian, as being in essence agents of another power, a foreign power, U.S. imperialism, whose role is increasingly becoming more clear and more hated and more feared." (page 9)

As this series of quotations indicates, the 1968 LSA resolution on Canada-US Relations did not oppose the then developing "nationalist" sentiment in this country. In fact, it clearly supported its progressive character and radical thrust. The problem, so far as the document was concerned, was a terminological one: it rejected the label "nationalist", not because this was a pro-bourgeois sentiment fostered by the Canadian capitalist class, but because it felt the term led to confusion than clarity. As an alternative designation, it posposed calling this sentiment "anti-imperialist" or alternatively "anti-US imperialist".*

The amendments presently before us are not merely posed in the interests of terminological accuracy in describing this "anti-US imperialist" sentiment; they in fact amount to a rejection of the sentiment itself.

This is clearly an alteration and rejection of our previousl held point of view. We must reassert our appraisal of the fundamentally radical character of the "anti-imperialist" and so-called "nationalist" sentiment in Canada, by rejecting the amendments.

Comrades may nevertheless wonder about the fact that the original draft political and antiwar resolutions actually accepted and adopted the "nationalist" designation. This is true. And to that extent, this represents something different. However, that is all it represents. Contrast this to the new, amended versions which throw out previously established positions and alter the entire thrust and intent of our line to date.

The best way to proceed would be to continue discussion on the original draft political and antiwar resolutions on this question, within the framework of continued support for and intervention around the anti-US imperialist sentiment. That would be the approach truly consistent with our traditional position.

* * *

With that understanding, I therefore propose the rejection of the following amendments to the political and antiwar resolutions for further consideration and discussion by the movement as a whole:

OTERWISE YOU WILL BE VOTING FOR THE RCT POSITION!!!!

Antiwar Resolution: all the amendments as outlined in Bulletin 11

Political Resolution (the original draft, Bulletin 1):

* This position of support to the growing anti-imperialist" sentiment in Canada, while rejecting the designation "nationalist" became an important part of the life and overall program of our entire movement, including the YS/LJS. In fact, the youth movement adopted it as its own.

page 1, paragraph 5 - the deletion of the final sentence.

page 2, paragraph 4 - its substitution with paragraph 6 on page 3 in Bulletin 11.

page 3, paragraph 1 - its alteration along the lines of the 2nd paragraph on page 4 in Bulletin 11.

page 6, paragraph 2 - the alteration of "imperialist domination and war" to "imperialist war"

and - the deletion of the clause "and it cannot win independence from the U.S."

page 7, paragraphs 2 and 3 - their substitution with paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 on page 8 and paragrphs 1 on page 9 in Bulletin 11.

page 14 - the deletion of the program section "End Americanization".

CEC PROPOSAL ON NOMINATING COMMISSION
(Found in 1973 ・Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes archive)

One of the central functions of the YS/LJS Convention is the election of the Executive Council *(EC)*. The bi-national committee is composed of leading comrades from around the country. It is the highest decision-making body between conventions, and is responsible for leading the YS/LJS in carrying out the decisions of the convention. The EC meets at least once a year between conventions in order to discuss and evaluate new political developments and experiences which have occurred since the last convention. Within the framework of the convention decisions, the EC then decides upon the perspectives and orientation of the YS/LJS until the next convention.

The method which the YS/LJS uses to facilitate the process of democratically electing the EC is the nominating commission. This method was first used by the Socialist Workers Party *(SWP - US co-thinkers up to this time- --ed.)* and has been used by the YS/LJS since it was formed.

We are reprinting excerpts from *Letters from Prison* by James P. Cannon which deal with what our concept of the Executive Council is, and how and why the SWP first arrived at the use of the nominating commission.

The nominating commission must be democratically elected by the convention delegates, and it must be a body representative of the convention as a whole if its recommendations are to carry the necessary authority and reflect the thinking of the bi-national membership about who should compose the EC. In addition, it must be small enough to carry out the very lengthy and detailed discussions needed in order to arrive at the best possible slate.

The delegations from all the locals or areas should meet and decide: 1. which delegates should serve on the nominating commission, and 2. which comrades from the area should be nominated for the Executive Council.

In deciding who should be nominated to the Executive Council delegations should keep several general considerations in mind. Comrades nominated to the EC should be those who have functioned as leaders of the YS/LJS both internally and externally. Those comrades who have demonstrated through their experience and work that they are political and organizational leaders of the YS/LJS in both a local and bi-national senses should be considered to be nominated to the bi-national team of leaders which makes up the Executive Council.

Finally, although every local will not have a representative serving on the nominating commission, every delegate has the right to come before the nominating commission and present nominations for their consideration.

-- (Part 2 Cannon article – next page)

HOW TO SELECT A LEADERSHIP
by James P. Cannon, Socialist Workers Party (USA) leader, undated, circa 1943

In our opinion the most important reason for stretching the convention out for another day is to give adequate time for a **free** and **well-deliberated** selection by the delegates of the new National Committee* *(* In the Young Socialist/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the National Committee would correspond to the bi-national Executive Council (EC).* This is one of the strongest guarantees of the democracy of the party. Our party has always been more democratic, ten times more democratic, in this respect than any other party. But there is room for improvement, and we should consciously seek out the necessary methods.

We never went in for any of the rigging, wangling, vote-trading and leadership-pressure devices by which, in practically all other parties (strike out the word "practically") the convention delegates are usually defrauded of a large part of their democratic freedom of choice. If one has a self-sufficient revolutionary party in mind, all such methods are self-defeating. A revolutionary party needs a leadership that really represents the party, that is really one with the party.

Without this democratic corrective, freely brought into play at every convention, centralization and discipline inevitably become caricatures and forms of abuse which injure the organization every time they are exercised. A revolutionary leadership must feel free at all times to act boldly and confidently in the name of the party. For that, it needs to be sure that there is no flaw in its mandate.

No rules exist to guide us in the technical execution of this difficult and delicate task to the best advantage of the party. The democratic selection of the primary and secondary leaders is a sufficiently important question -- nobody knows how much damage can be done by bungling it -- but, as far as I know, nobody has ever written anything about it. Nobody has taught us anything. We are obliged to think and experiment for ourselves.

The democratic impulses of the rank and file incline them to react unfavorably to "slates," as they feel, not without reason, that they narrow down for all practical purposes the freedom of choice. The Social-Democratic politicians, who are as undemocratic a collection of rascals as one can ever expect to meet, have always exploited this sentiment by announcing their firm, democratic opposition to slates. Of course, there was a little catch to their virtuous slogan of 'no slates.' They meant no openly avowed slates which would possibly be open to discussion and amendment. Instead of that, the noble Social-Democrats rig up secret slates by means of horse trades and petty bribes to ensure their control. A good 50 percent of Social-Democratic convention "politics11 is always devoted to this kind of business.

From the first days of American communism, which also coincided with the first appearance on the scene of a new type of leader with a new conception of "politics," we tried to break through the "no-slate" fraud and devise a more honest system by which the leaders would take open responsibility for their proposals and give reasons for their preferences in the makeup of the leading committee. It became rather common practice for the leading committees, in national as well as local conventions in the communist movement, to propose a slate of candidates for the

new Committee to be elected. We carried the practice with us in the independent movement of Trotskyism. (During factional struggles the slate-making arrangements were carried on in the separate caucuses of the factions.)

This method was, without doubt, far superior to the "no-slate" tricks of our socialist predecessors, being more honest, and in the essence of the matter, even more democratic.

But this system also was not free from negative aspects, and even dangers. I perceived some of them long ago, have thought much about the matter, and from time to time have tried to devise corrective experiments. What impressed me most of all was the quite obvious fact that while the presentation of a slate of candidates by the leadership is the most "efficient" way to get through the business of the election of the NC (EC) – usually the last point on the agenda, carried through in a great hurry - it concentrates too much power in the leadership just at that very point the convention - where the democratic corrective of rank-and-file control should be asserted most strongly.

It is not the election of the central, most prominent and influential leaders themselves. That problem solves itself almost automatically in the interplay of party work and internal strife. The problem arises over the selection of the secondary leaders, the new committee members, the potential leaders of the future. As a rule, this part of the slate is presented by the most authoritative central leaders, is accepted, whether enthusiastically or not, by the convention; many delegates are reluctant to oppose them.

It is senseless, of course, to speak of a revolutionary combat party without recognizing the necessity of a centralized, fully empowered leadership. But this states only one half of the problem. Leninist centralism is **democratic** centralism, a profoundly dialectical concept. The other half of the Leninist formula recognizes no less the necessity of subordinating the leadership, really as well as formally, to the party; keeping it under the control of the party. The party constitution does everything that can be done in a formal sense to provide for the interaction of centralism and democracy.

The structure of the party is strictly hierarchical. Higher committees command the lower. Full authority over all is vested in the National Committee. But the NC (EC), like all other committees, is required to render accounts and surrender its mandate at stated intervals to the party convention to which it is subordinated. This is the formal, constitutional guarantee both for centralization and the ultimate control of the leadership.

But it is also necessary to think about the spirit as well as the letter of the party constitution. A farsighted leadership should concern itself with the elusive, intangible factors which can play such a great role in determining the actual relationship between the NC (EC) and the ranks.

Some of there factors arise from the composition of the NC (EC) and the division of functions **within** it. Nominally, this body consists of twenty-five members, and they all have equal rights. In addition there are fifteen alternates. But the majority come to the center only for meetings of the **plenum** which are not held very often. Between plenums the power is delegated to the Political Committee (CEC). From this it is quite clear that one section of the National

Committee (EC) is in a position to exert far more influence on the day-to-day work and interpretation of party policy than the other.

Again, some are older, more experienced and more prominent than others, and consequently wield greater authority in the committee as well as in the party as a whole. On the other side, the committee members from the districts and the younger members of the committee generally, who are active in local work, are closer to the rank-and-file than the central leaders of the party are, and represent them more directly and intimately. This gives them a special function in the NC (EC) of extraordinary importance.

Their presence represents a form of continuing rank-and-file control and supervision over the central leaders. They can fulfill this function, however, only insofar as they are people of independent influence and popularity in their own localities; only insofar as they are freely elected on their own merits, not handpicked.

To be sure, the central leaders cannot be indifferent to the selection of the secondary leadership. In this, as in everything else, leaders must lead. In a certain sense, the central party leaders "select" their collaborators and eventual successors. The question is, how to go about it? It is often easy for politically experienced leaders to convince themselves that they are better judges of the qualifications and potentialities of certain candidates than the rank-and-file delegates. And, as a rule, it is not too difficult to force their selections through by means of the "slate." This may appear to be the most "efficient" way. But in my opinion. there is a better way.

Wisdom lies in "selecting" people who have popularity and influence in their own right, **and** whose promotion coincides with the wishes of the party members who know them best. That means to select people who are advancing under their own power.

I came to this conclusion a long time ago, and as far as I have been able to influence the course of things it has been the party method of selecting the NC (EC). Extensive and varied experience, with every imaginable kind of experiment, has convinced me that this method, even at the cost of incidental mistakes, works out best in the long run.

The central leaders of the party who work from day to day without close contact with the internal life of the branches, need such a constitution of the NC (EC) if they are to lead the party confidently; lead it with the assurance that they know the moods and sentiments of the ranks and are in step with them. When doubt arises, or when some new important step is under consideration it is only necessary to consult the out-of-town members of the NC (EC) by mail, or to call a plenum, in order to get a reliable sounding of the party. Approval of a given course by the plenum is a pretty certain forecast of similar action by the party.

Conversely, when the plenum finds it necessary to overrule the Political Committee (CEC) — and this has happened more than once, notably in 1938-39 — it is a sign that the Political Committee is out of line with the party and requires a change in its composition. The 1938-39National Committee rebuked the PC several times and finally reorganized it, and later tests showed that the full plenum most accurately reflected the sentiment of the party.

A serious and conscientious party leadership should deliberately aim at a National Committee (EC) so composed as to be, in effect, a microcosm of the party. When the full plenum of such a National Committee meets between conventions, to all intents and purposes the **party is there in the room.** That is far more

useful to responsible political leaders than a roomful of handpicked supporters without independent influence and authority. Bureaucrats who have special interests of their own to defend against the rank and file need to surround themselves with dependent henchmen; but revolutionary political leaders need support of an entirely different kind, the support of people who really represent the rank and file of the party.

There is another, and even more important, reason the rank-and-file convention delegates should take over the election of the National Committee and be free from undue pressure and influence on the part of the national political leadership in exercising this function. The free selection of the full membership of the National Committee is perhaps the most decisive way to strengthen and reinforce genuine party democracy. It puts the political leaders under the direct supervision and control of a second line of leaders who are in intimate daily contact with the local and district organizations and, in fact, represent them in the plenum.

This control doesn't have to be exercised every day to be effective. The fact that it is there, and can be demonstrated when necessary, is what counts. Strange to relate, the professional democrats have never once in the history of our party bothered their heads about the method of selecting the National Committee from the standpoint of reinforcing party democracy. This, in my opinion, is because they tend to think of democracy almost exclusively in terms of unlimited and unrestricted self-expression and forget that control of the central leadership, which in day-to-day practices is limited to a very small group, by a larger group standing closer to the rank and file is the most important mechanism to assure the democratic half of the Leninist formula: democratic-centralism.

Throwing the floor open for nominations on the last day of the convention is not the only alternative to a slate presented by the outgoing NC (EC). That only throws the delegate body into disorganized confusion and facilitates the manipulation of the election by means of secret slates and horse trades, the favorite method of Social-Democrats.

There is no infallible formula, but the results of our experiments over a period of many years argue most convincingly in favor of a slate prepared by a **nominating commission.** Of course, there are nominating commissions and nominating commissions. But the best, that is, the most democratic, is not the nominating commission appointed by the outgoing NC (EC), nor the one elected at random from the floor of the convention. The most efficient, for the purposes set forth above, is the nominating commission selected by the branch or district delegations on a roughly proportional basis – each delegation selecting its own representative – and then ratified by the convention. The nominating commission, thus conceived, is a body actually representing the rank-and-file delegations from the districts.

It would be grossly improper for individual central leaders to intrude themselves upon the commission and seek to dominate its proceedings. That would amount to a circumvention of the democratic process aimed at in the proposal. It is the part of wisdom for the central leaders to leave the nominating commission to its own devices, respecting the essence of party democracy as well as the form.

The nominating commission should be selected on the first day of the convention; it should begin its sessions at once and meet at least once a day thereafter to consider the various nominations until a slate is decided upon for presentation to the convention when the election of the NC comes up on the agenda.

In my opinion, the first step of the commission at the 1944 convention should be to discard formally the ruling which paralyzed the work of the nominating commission at the 1942 convention -- the utterly stupid and reactionary principle that every member of the outgoing NC was, as a matter of course, to be reelected unless good cause was shown to **remove** them. That

turns things upside down. Nobody can be "frozen" in any position in a revolutionary party. He must stand for election at each convention, and the election must be free and open.

Room must be left for competition and rivalry and differences of opinion to operate without artificial restraints. Members of the outgoing NC should be placed in exactly the same status as new aspirants — as **candidates** for election. The nominating commission should adopt a rule to this effect at its first session.

The most practical next step is to take a preliminary poll to ascertain how many candidates are generally favored for election as national leaders who are not counted as representatives of any special district of the party. This will clear the road for the apportionment of the remaining places on the slate for local and district representatives. Here, again, there should be no "freezing" of old representation and no automatic closing of the door to new candidates from districts previously not represented.

The object should be to provide the fairest possible representation of the districts in the new NC; but the principle of proportional representation should be modified by other considerations: the relative importance of the district; the quality of the candidates; the special role played by certain candidates, etc.

The commission should announce the time and place of its daily sessions, and invite any delegate who wishes to argue for or against any candidate to appear and take the floor. The slate finally decided upon, either by agreement or majority vote, should be presented to the convention as the **nominations** of the nominating commission. That leaves the floor open for other nominations and free discussion before the ballot is taken.

Naturally, one would have to have some good arguments for another candidate to hope to amend the slate of the nominating commission. But if he thinks he has a strong case, there is no reason why he shouldn't make the attempt. Adequate time and patience must be accorded for the presentation of any such proposed amendments. The heavens will not fall if a slate is amended once in a while.

One word more. The convention should not shunt the election of the new NC off till the last hurried half-hour of the convention, when impatience of departing delegations would tend to discourage full discussion and ample consideration of the various nominations. The best procedure would be to fix a definite hour and day to take up the election of the NC whether the rest of the agenda is finished or not at that time. This decision should be made demonstratively in order to call sharp attention to the vital importance of full and careful deliberation in selecting the party leadership. And even more important, the convention will thus give itself time to do the job right.

All of these measures will not guarantee the election of an ideal National Committee (EC). But they should help to provide us with the best committee that a free party can select from the material at hand by the method of party democracy. If the returning delegates go home with the feeling that this has been accomplished, the new NC will be able to begin its work with a strong authority. On the other hand, the leadership, precisely because of the care and deliberation taken

in the selection of the personnel of the NC, will feel itself to be more than ever under the watchful supervision and control of the party.

– James P. Cannon, National Chairman, Socialist Workers Party (US)

RULES OF ORDER

1. The discussion will proceed on the round system. Speakers are limited to 5 minutes on the first round and to 3 minutes on second round. No one may speak for a second time until first round has been completed.
2. Procedural motions will be dealt with, by having one speaker for, one against and the presiding committee if it so requests. The vote will then be taken.
3. All matters will be decided by simple majority vote of the delegates. Consultative vote will be taken on substantive motions only.
4. Amendments must be submitted in writing to the presiding committee. Amendments are to be voted on at the end of the discussion.
5. Procedural questions not dealt with here will be referred to the presiding committee to make a recommendation,
6. If a full delegate is to be replaced by an alternate for a session the name of the delegate and the alternate must be submitted to the presiding committee at the beginning of the session. All changes between delegates and alternates must take place at the beginning of the session.

KEY--INCLUDING INFORMATION ON RESTAURANTS AND ACCOMMODATION

1. Convention site, King Edward Public School, just north of College street on Bathurst St
2. Headquarters of YS/LSA, 334 Queen St. west, phone 363-9618 or 364-4056.
3. New Year's Eve party, 326 Queen St. West. (just down from hq).
4. Central YMCA, 40 College St. MEN ONLY (!) For groups of four students, $3.76 each per night.
5. Hotel Waverly, 484 Spadina; Single--$9; Double--$12.
6. Sterio's Restaurant, 431 College St. Licensed, moderate prices.
7. Mars Restaurant, 432 College St. Bit over average prices.
8. G & P Restaurant, 505 College St. Steak house; moderate prices.
9. Barcelona Restaurant, 404 College St. Moderate to expensive.
10. Harvey's Hamburgers, 356 College. Fairly inexpensive.
11. Imperio's Restaurant, 349 College. Expensive.

12. City Hall Square.
13. Eatons
14. Simpsons.

Dotted line shows subway route.
Buses run along all other streets marked on map.
Small map shows in greater detail the area around the convention site.

Bathurst St.
Brunswick Ave.
Spadina Ave
College St. W.
Harboard St.
Bloor St. West
King St. W
Queen St. W.
Dundas St. West
University Ave.
Carlton Street
Queens Park
Bay St.
Yonge St.
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